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Worldwide Issues

Deputy Foreign Minister on Human Rights

OW2308110991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The principle of noninterference doesn't apply to the cause of protecting human rights and democracy, said Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. Some people in the USSR, he told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, shrink from the thought of possible foreign interference. In the meantime in a united Europe it's necessary to work together to ensure the observance of human rights and promote democratic processes, the Soviet diplomat said. V. Petrovskiy, the executive secretary of the Moscow meeting of the Conference on Human Dimension scheduled for September 10, has said it's more important than ever before that the meeting should take place at the appointed time. He proceeds from the assumption that democracy and observance of human rights in the USSR should have not only national, but also international guarantees. According to him, the new relationship formed in Europe also played their role in the collapse of this week's coup. V. Petrovskiy has just returned from a trip to Geneva, Paris and Copenhagen. He sensed in the political and public figures he spoke with there that they are greatly interested in holding the Moscow phase of the Conference on Human Dimension, he said.

UN Secretary General Greets Gorbachev Return

LD2408063191 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations Aug 22 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar on Thursday sent Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev a message, in which he wished him success in carrying out democratic reforms in the country.

"As you resume your presidential duties, and your country returns to the path of legality, may I take the opportunity to wish you every success in the great and challenging tasks that lie ahead of your efforts to restructure the political and economic life of the Soviet Union on a democratic basis. The courage and determination of the Soviet people to preserve such a course, as witnessed in the past days, was truly inspiring," the message says.

EBRD's Attali To Meet With Gorbachev, Yeltsin

OW2308175691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Jacques Attali, arrived in Moscow at 3 pm [1200 GMT] today (23rd August) for talks with Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev. Earlier he was in Leningrad where he met the city's mayor, Anatoliy Sobchak.

The EBRD is the only international financial organisation of which the Soviet Union is a full member. According to information received in the USSR Foreign Ministry's International Economic Relations Section, the visit is primarily of a political nature so that both sides can confirm their willingness to cooperate. At the same time certain forms and trends may be established in the field of credit, technical and other assistance which the bank proposes to extend to the Soviet Union within frameworks already worked out.

Preparations for Helsinki-2 Continue

OW2308175391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs today (23rd August) affirmed the Soviet Union's devotion to its obligations set out in the Paris Charter for a new Europe and its interest in the further development and strengthening of the common European process. A "DP" ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent has been informed that the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Directorate for Safety and Cooperation in Europe, Yuriy Deryabin, is at the moment in The Hague. Later Mr. Deryabin, who is the Soviet representative on the CSCE Senior Officials Committee, intends to hold consultations in Sweden and Finland. This suggests that the Soviet Union is continuing its preparations for the pan-European summit, within the Helsinki-2 framework, intended for March next year.

Foreign Delegations Postpone Trips to USSR

OW2308010391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A number of foreign delegations postponed their trips to Vladivostok, said M. Tumanov, director of the foreign economic ties sector at the region's territorial executive committee, including delegations of the Japanese prefectures Fukuri and Aomori. According to Tumanov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry recommended foreigners to postpone their trips until the situation in the USSR comes back to normal.

During the preceding week the region was visited by 25 to 30 foreign delegations a week.

Impact of Coup on World's Perceptions of USSR

PM2308165191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

[By A. Vasilyev: "Marxism and the Uprising in One Particular Country. What Has Changed in the World Since the Coup in the USSR?"]

[Text] In the next few days a great deal of new information will appear in connection with the coup and various versions will be put together, but, in my view, it is necessary to avoid making a very dangerous mistake: To think that we—the people, the country, and the world—have all witnessed a fools' putsch. Call them what you like, but they were not fools. The failure of the coup by no means signifies that Yanayev and company made an unrealistic assessment of the situation—both in the country and abroad. What was their reasoning when they were predicting the world community's possible reaction to their actions and to the subsequent development of the situation?

Various hypotheses are currently being put forward concerning relations between the putschists and M.S. Gorbachev. But it is clear that the Yanayevites were planning to bring the USSR president into their team at a later date, since without him they could not expect to have any kind of relations with the vast majority of states. In fact, the world has not properly analyzed the nuances of our domestic situation. It is important for the world community to see Mikhail Sergeyevich in good health and in the Kremlin. The putschists must have known this.

Of course, even if M.S. Gorbachev had accepted the role of "honorary pope," the Yanayev coup would have caused a deterioration of the USSR's relations with the West and, above all, with the United States. America and Europe would have stopped all types of aid to the Soviet Union. But let us not forget that there were at least two people in the junta—Kryuchkov and Pavlov—who tended to regard this aid as a world capitalist plot against world socialism. So the junta thought it could manage without the West.

No doubt there were other factors influencing their decisions. Politics is politics, and sooner or later the West would have had contacts with Yanayev. There are examples of this kind of behavior in very recent history. After the tragedy in Tiananmen Square in 1989 Washington's reaction was ostensibly very severe. But Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, was off to Beijing on a secret mission literally a few months after the uprising was put down. Certainly, trade and economic relations were curtailed, but then we already know what Kryuchkov and Pavlov think of "rich folk."

All that is in the past now. What about the future? How have the coup and the quashing of it affected the world situation?

One can be sure that the West will increase economic and financial aid to the Soviet Union. One can already hear complaints that Gorbachev received too little at the London meeting of the 'seven,' and this undermined the position of the democratic forces in the USSR and made the coup possible. "I believe circumstances have changed," British Prime Minister J. Major said. "The package of reforms that was being envisaged before had many flaws. But there were many people in the Soviet Union opposed to Gorbachev's reforms. They included the people who staged the coup. They have been defeated. And these people will no longer be there."

But as well as an increase in the volume of aid, one should expect increased pressure from the West in areas that existed before the coup and are still there—reduction of Soviet aid to Cuba and Afghanistan, and also the "northern territories." The United States now has a real chance to achieve success in these spheres. Indeed, it is as a result of the resolute support G. Bush gave to B. Yeltsin that the authority of the United States in Russia is now comparable to that which it had in Kuwait after the liberation of that country. Moreover, the Russian leadership was always more willing to make compromises on these matters than the Union leadership.

It was also a very difficult three days for the West European countries. They feared that the Yanayev junta would change Soviet policy vis-a-vis their "quiet revolutions," and that frightened Soviet citizens would flood across their borders. "We have settled scores with the enemy," but our neighbors certainly remain anxious. So one can expect them to step up their efforts to join various West European structures: EC, NATO, and so on. And, of course, our former "brothers" will do all they can to hasten the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories as much as possible.

The disposition of forces in the Near East will also change, primarily because the PLO, like some Arab countries, openly supported the Yanayevites. Such things are not forgotten, so a reinforcement [usileniye] of Israel's positions in the Near East settlement process is inevitable. This does not mean, though, that the prospects of a peace conference have improved.

U.S. Opposes UN Cuban Embargo Talks

LD2408163691 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By Aleksey Berezhkov]

[Text] Washington Aug 23 TASS—The United States opposed a move requiring that the U.N. General Assembly session, opening in September, consider the economic embargo against Cuba imposed by the United States thirty years ago. The U.S. Department of State said in a statement on Thursday the United States embargo against Cuba is not a problem to be discussed in the United Nations, as each government has the right to

choose with whom it wants to maintain economic and political relations, the statement says.

Cuba announced last Tuesday it intended to get the issue of American embargo on the agenda of the forthcoming general assembly session. Cuba's permanent envoy to the United Nations Ricardo Alarcon noted that Cuba would propose a resolution criticizing the U.S. economic blockade imposed in contravention of international principles of equality of states and non-intervention. However, the statement rejects the term "blockade" which implies the use of military action by the United States in order to prevent other countries from trading with Cuba. The statement stresses the embargo reflects the U.S. policy with regard to Cuba's domestic repressions and support of insurgents abroad.

Gorbachev Message to Energy Symposium

PM2108133991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[Undated greetings message from M. Gorbachev to International Symposium on Energy, Ecology, Economy]

[Text] To the International Symposium on Energy, Ecology, and Economy:

The very idea of examining, as a package, what are almost the three most burning modern problems of mankind strikes me as very productive. You are setting a good example of international cooperation in the search for rational utilization of the planet's energy resources and its deliverance from ecological misfortune. I welcome the joint efforts of scientists and specialists in improving the life of mankind.

I hope that your symposium will become a regular event and will promote the formation of economic and ecological culture. And this is particularly necessary now for our country and for all its republics.

I wish you successful work!

[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Receives U.S. Ambassador's Credentials

LD2408131891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1304 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug TASS—Today in the Vladimirskiy Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev received the credentials of U.S. ambassador to the USSR Robert Strauss. A friendly conversation took place between the president and the ambassador.

Tells Strauss of Need for Support

LD2408160791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—Robert Strauss, the new U.S. ambassador to the USSR, who arrived in Moscow recently, presented his credentials to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin today.

After the presentation of credentials, the USSR president spoke in detail to the ambassador, whose arrival in the USSR coincided with a dramatic moment in the country's history, said the president. This bitter experience has much to teach us, the president said. The putschists did not prevail, because in six years our society and our people have changed. They rejected the attempt to restore a totalitarian regime. Now we shall be moving forward more rapidly and more decisively—to a new economy, a new federation, and a new political system.

In this context, stressed Mikhail Gorbachev, there is even greater significance in what he has previously said on numerous occasions to U.S. President George Bush and other foreign leaders. In order to ease the transition for people in the context of a radicalization of reforms, it is particularly important to synchronize the transformations in the USSR with the actions of our foreign partners in cooperation with us in support for our efforts. Specific areas are involved here: filling the market with goods amid a liberalization of prices, the structure of our foreign debt, the problem of ruble convertibility, and joint projects in the spheres of power engineering, foodstuffs, and conversion. At the present moment, we are particularly counting on understanding and practical support from the United States and other countries.

Robert Strauss stated that his mission is to see that the two countries move together. This is in the interests of my country. I came here, he stressed, not as an observer or an impartial investigator. I want to help you and us to continue the process of movement toward a new world, to the ushering of which Mikhail Gorbachev has already contributed, and will yet make an enormous contribution. You can bank on my support, he stressed.

The USSR president welcomed this statement by the U.S. ambassador, and described it as something extremely important. He promised the U.S. ambassador support in his activities, and expressed the hope that they will meet on a regular basis. He asked the ambassador to pass his best wishes on to U.S. President George Bush and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Reports 'Satisfaction' With Support

LD2408144191 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 24 TASS—The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are one of the most remarkable phenomena in world politics. They

have passed the strength test, which was proved by recent developments in the USSR, President Gorbachev said in the Kremlin today, accepting the credentials of Robert Strauss, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leader pointed out with satisfaction that the United States, the American people and President George Bush supported the process of democratic transformations in the USSR.

The U.S. ambassador reiterated the invariability of his country's policy with regard to the Soviet Union.

Shevardnadze Confers With Strauss

OW2308111491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the USSR Foreign Policy Association Eduard Shevardnadze conferred with the newly-appointed American Ambassador to Moscow Robert Strauss on Friday. The two men discussed the situation in the Soviet Union in the wake of the abortive coup and prospects for promoting Soviet-American relations. Robert Strauss said that he is willing to work to attract considerable American investment in the Soviet economy. It was agreed that for its part the Foreign Policy Association will give U.S. businessmen aid in mediation and expertise. Robert Strauss is expected to present his credentials to the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev this afternoon.

Komplektov Praises U.S. Stance During Coup

LD2408031791 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington Aug 23 TASS—"The ideas of freedom and democracy have seized people, and they resolutely rejected the organisers of the coup," Soviet Ambassador to the United States Viktor Komplektov told a news conference here on Thursday.

"Russia, first and foremost Moscow and Leningrad, and other republics have become the stronghold of resistance. Boris Yeltsin and his colleagues have become the symbol and leaders of resistance," Komplektov said.

"Renovation processes in international relations, chiefly Soviet-U.S. relations, boosted by perestroyka, and the understanding of interdependence in the world, are so deep that organisers of the coup failed to eliminate outside influence on the country," Komplektov said.

"Denunciation by the international community, including the U.S. administration, Congress and people, and their solidarity with Soviet people, was so powerful and unanimous that they could not positively influence the outcome of events," Komplektov said.

"The policy of new thinking and principled decisions by the Soviet parliament and presidential power have become the main reference-points for us. Historic agreements reached during the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow, determining a qualitatively new state in relations between our countries, cooperation and partnership, were also reference points for us," Komplektov said.

"I should note President George Bush's responsible and weighed position," Komplektov said. "The President denounced the plotters. He firmly and definitely supported Gorbachev and Yeltsin and democratic reform in the Soviet Union. He resolutely said tragic events in our country should not affect East-West relations and will not lead to a cold war."

"The President's position positively influenced the outcome of events, and Gorbachev particularly noted this upon his return to Moscow," Komplektov said.

"After the Gulf crisis, the events of recent days have become another test of the firmness of the new world order, and relations between our two countries reflecting the personal trust and friendship between Gorbachev and Bush. These relations endured this serious new trial. Russians say a friend in need is a friend indeed, " Komplektov said.

A great misfortune happened in my country in the past days. At the same time, the loss of reaction and the victory of democracy inspire great hopes—hopes for peace and accord in the Soviet Union, and peace and accord in Soviet-U.S. relations and in international relations as a whole," Komplektov said.

Soviet-Canadian Grain Talks Resume

LD2408084491 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa Aug 24 TASS—The Canadian wheat administration has resumed talks with Soviet representatives on signing a new five-year agreement on sales of wheat to the Soviet Union, the GLOBE and MAIL reported. The term of the previous agreement, under which 25 million metric tons of Canadian grain was sold to the USSR at an average price of 150 dollars a ton, has expired. Talks about a new agreement were interrupted as soon as the coup in Moscow was reported.

According to the Canadian administration official Bob Royle, the return of both sides to the negotiating table raised the spirit of the Canadian agro-business because half of its exports in recent years went to the Soviet Union.

The Canadian administration hopes to sell 20 million cubic tons of grain, harvested this year, to the Soviet Union.

According to experts, the price of the grain will reach 2 - 3 billion Canadian dollars, depending on the variety.

The Canadian official noted that last year, the Soviet Union bought in Canada 14 million metric tons worth nearly two billion dollars.

Visiting Soviet Aircraft Ordered Out of U.S.

PM2308121191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Invitation Cancelled"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Aug—The U.S. military authorities have ordered Soviet planes—two MIG-29 fighter aircraft and an Il-76 cargo aircraft—to leave the United States.

The aircraft landed at Elmendorf U.S. Air Force Base in Alaska on Tuesday, having flown to the United States for demonstration flights. According to a statement by a U.S. Air Force spokesman, the aircraft were permitted to refuel, after which their crews were asked to leave the United States in the light of the fact that the Department of State had cancelled the invitation to take part in demonstration exhibitions.

China

Observer Notes Chinese 'Shocked' Over Coup

OW2508013491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1300 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Mulatov: "The Plot Against the Constitution Fails;" from the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] Listeners and friends: I think that, in these days, you, with special feelings, have been awaiting to tune in to reports transmitted from Moscow and the Soviet Union. I think many of our Chinese friends, like the overwhelming majority of Soviet people, are shocked by the coup in our country. You might have already learned that, after the coup failed, freedom of the press has been reinstated in the Soviet Union. The commentary today will only discuss one issue; namely, failure of the plot against the Constitution.

On 23 August, all newspapers carried Soviet President Gorbachev's decree to abolish the coup organizers' counterconstitutional orders. In that decree, he nullified all the decisions made by the State of Emergency Committee and some of its members, and dismissed all the members of the Emergency Committee from their offices. The state president was informed that the procurator general of the USSR had already filed charges against the coup plotters, and that the relevant authorities of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic would conduct a joint investigation.

Media all over the Soviet Union have reported in detail—and also analyzed and pondered over—the tragic events that occurred from 19 to 21 August. The headline of the independent paper, VECHERNYAYA MOSKYA, on 22 August read: "Dictatorship Fails, Muscovites and Russians Safeguard the Fatherland." The paper also carried a short commentary by its reporter (Valinych): "An Eye-Witness' Testimony." Like the thousands upon thousands of other Muscovites, he spent two sleepless nights in front of the Russian parliamentary building. He writes: During those two nights of darkness, a new Russia and a new form of patriotism were born, and a national awareness of a state ruled by law made its first step.

The reporter continues: Frankly speaking, many defenders of the Russian parliament did not voluntarily lie down beneath the tanks out of love for Gorbachev, or for the sake that he may return to his presidential office. Rather than reinstating dictatorship, they wanted to defend freedom, and the legitimately elected government at the cost of sacrificing themselves. Thus, an unprecedented phenomenon of defending contitutional rule and powers by the whole nation appeared.

Under the title, "People Who Block the Tanks," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reported the sacrifice of three heroes who died during the period from 20 August to the evening of 21 August. The Presidium of the Moscow Soviet has designated the day of their burial as the day of mourning.

In a message to Muscovites, Moscow paper, THE TOLL [zhong sheng bao], says: Events happening over the past several days show that we have become a free people. People's sense of self-respect is most precious. The machinators failed to buy us over. Neither their promise that we would be well clothed and fed, nor their fake tearful confession that they would hold themselves primarily responsible for the current difficulties, can buy us over.

Moscow Mayor Popov writes in THE TOLL: The cause of triumphing over the rebellion, and the greatest success achieved over the past few days, can be attributed to the people who took to the streets in disregard of the prohibition order, who defended the Russian parliament building and blocked the way of tanks with their chests, and who refused to obey the illegally imposed curfew.

More on Belonogov's Meetings, Talks in Beijing

PM2308105591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Soviet-Chinese Consultations"]

[Text] Consultations between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov and PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Yang Fuchang began in Beijing 21 August. Topical problems of the Near East region and the Persian Gulf zone were discussed.

On the same day A.M. Belonogov was received by Qian Qichen, member of the State Council and PRC minister of foreign affairs.

During the discussions, the importance of the international efforts being undertaken at present to reach a comprehensive Near East settlement and resolve the Palestinian problem and of convening a peace conference to this end, was noted. The significance of cooperation between the Soviet Union and China—as permanent members of the UN Security Council—in the interests of strengthening international peace and security was stressed.

The sides established a broad coincidence of views on the situation in the Persian Gulf. They confirmed their readiness to continue collaboration, including within the UN framework, with the aim of overcoming the consequences of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait as quickly as possible.

Recent events in the Soviet Union were discussed during the conversation with Qian Qichen. The Chinese minister expressed satisfaction at the fact that the USSR's foreign policy remains unchanged and that all treaties, agreements, and understandings will be observed and honored. He expressed the hope that the difficulties experienced by the Soviet Union are of a temporary nature and that social life and production will be normalized. "The Soviet Union and China are large states, and what is more, neighboring ones, and neighbors always wish one another well, since this is of common benefit," Qian Qichen noted.

The talks in Beijing are being held in the atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding characteristic of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Belonogov Trip To Beijing

WA2308185391

For further reportage on the visit to Beijing by Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov, including his talks with Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Vice Foreign Minister Yang Fuchang, see the Soviet Union section of the 20 August China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Solovyev Says Obstacles to Reform Cleared

OW2608054691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Solovyev commentary; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Listeners and friends, when analyzing the situation in the Soviet Union last week, we have to agree with the remarks made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a victory congress in Moscow on 22 August.

[Recording of Yeltsin in Russian is briefly heard, fading out after a few seconds] Yeltsin said: The country is shaking off an imposed crisis. The coup plotters will certainly be eliminated, because, first of all, the people have made their own decisions and have been unwilling to discard them. The people have overcome the fear they had a few years ago.

This station's commentator Solovyev wrote as follows: One of the most important factors leading to the victory over the reactionary forces, which attempted to turn back time, was that the people have chosen democracy and progress. This was the point that the putschists had not considered. They had not considered the reforms that began in April 1985; the changes have become a truly irreversible process. They also missed that people, who have breathed the air of freedom, can no longer be pushed back into totalitarian darkness. They did not consider that democratic forces have accomplished a lot of achievements within the Russian administration during the past few months. One of their major achievements is that Yeltsin has been elected Russian president. When calling for resolutely hitting back at reactionary elements and plotters, only a leader who has the confidence of the great majority of the people could receive such a large number of strong echoes.

Like tens of thousands of residents in Novgorod, residents of Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kemerovo, and (Gierkuta) took to the streets and squares and unwaveringly defended the constitutions and laws. During those turbulent and tumultuous days, defenders of the White House and the Belorussian Supreme Soviet played superbly heroic roles. The putschists' major spearheads were aimed at these places.

The people express their heartfelt mourning for the youths who have sacrificed themselves for liberty and democracy. Our commemoration of their sacrifice will enable our country to resolutely advance along the road of political and economic reforms, eliminating any possibility of repeating this tragedy.

As most people have understood, we should know that the major causes leading to this crisis were as follows: While implementing reforms, our country was not resolute and firm enough and encountered frequent reversals. The USSR president had not launched corresponding counterattacks to the reactionary forces that constantly popped up. Moreover, some of them became the most trusted people of the president, ousting those activists who had democratic tendencies. The bitter experiences of Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, Bakatin, and Volskiy are examples of this.

After the aborted coup, a new situation clearly shows us that it is necessary to implement complete structural and personnel reorganizations in the armed forces, the USSR KGB, and the Internal Affairs Ministry, which have the potential to pose great risks. One of the major tasks will be implementing departyization in these organizations. In short, it does not matter whether the people are surprised; we should be thankful to the coup plotters

because it was their aborted rebellion that has considerably expedited the irreversible reforms in our country. At present, the most important thing is not to stop reforming, or to be limited to the task of destroying the old system. We should immediately pursue some creative work. We should understand that all obstacles along the road of reform have been completely cleared.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Cabinet Members Opposed To Aid Increase

LD2308110791 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo August 23 TASS—"Japan should actively render technological and humanitarian assistance to the Soviet Union on the basis of the concept of expanded balance," Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said in parliament today. He recalled understanding on rendering this kind of assistance to the USSR was recorded in 15 agreements, signed during the visit of President Gorbachev to Japan. At the same time today's statements by members of the Japanese cabinet confirm Tokyo's negative attitude to the idea of increasing aid and granting Japanese credits to the USSR.

The Japanese mass media do not rule out a possibility of Tokyo revising its stand on rendering financial assistance to the Soviet Union. Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama expressed the intention to analyse the issue again, after Deputy Foreign Minister Kozi Watanabe returned to Japan. He had been sent for consultations to West Europe and the United States as a special emissary of the Japanese Government.

Revenko Meets Japanese Ambassador in Kremlin

LD2508043791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1603 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—Grigoriy Revenko, a leader of the USSR president's apparatus, and Sumio Edamura, Japanese Ambassador to the USSR, met in the Kremlin today. During the conversation, G. Revenko and S. Edamura expressed the mutual interest of the countries' leaderships in the continuation and deepening of political and economic cooperation between the USSR and Japan and in the successful completion of work on a peace treaty.

Recent events in the USSR have shown the irreversibility of perestroyka, which expands the possibilities for developing Soviet-Japanese cooperation.

The Japanese ambassador conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev and his family cordial words from Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and his wife.

The conversation passed off in a sincere and cordial atmosphere.

Russian, Japanese Mayors Meet in Vladivostok

OW2408035891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1400 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The mayors of Russian Republic and Japanese sister-cities held a meeting in Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East today. Present at the meeting were representatives of Niigata, Maizuru and Toyama from the Japanese side and municipal assemblies of Irkutsk and Valdivostok from the Russian side.

The purpose of the meeting was to prepare plans for cooperation in the political, economic and trade sectors, as well as in humanitarian and sporting areas.

Japan May Extend Invitation to Yeltsin

OW2408051791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1400 GMT 13 Aug 91

[TASS News Agency dispatch from Tokyo]

[Text] The Japanese Government may invite Russian Republic President Yeltsin to Japan. This possibility was pointed out by Foreign Ministry spokesman Watanabe in a telephone interview he gave to a TASS News Agency correspondent today.

After the Soviet coup ended in failure, the Russian Republic president has been invited by leaders of a number of other countries.

Spokesman Watanabe said:

The Japanese Government wishes that Russian Republic Prime Minister Silayev will visit Japan first. Prime Minister Silayev was to visit Japan from 21 to 28 August at the invitation of the Japanese Foreign Ministry and two prefectural assemblies. However, this visit inevitably had to be put off at the last minute. The Japanese Government hopes that Prime Minister Silayev will find a way to visit Japan in the near future.

Spokesman Watanabe did not rule out the possibility that an invitation to Russian Republic President Yeltsin to visit Japan may be extended during Prime Minister Silayev's visit to Japan.

Mr. Yeltsin paid a visit to Japan in January last year while he was chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Construction. During that visit, Mr. Yeltsin met with Prime Minister Kaifu and other Japanese politicians and proposed a five-phase plan in connection with the territorial issue pending between the two countries.

Golembovskiy Interviewed on IZVESTIYA

OW2408032991 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1227 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Interview with Igor Golembovskiy, IZVESTIYA chief editor designate, currently on a visit to Japan, by anchorman Tadashi Sonoda, in the NHK Tokyo studio

in a panel discussion program on the Soviet situation with Mr. Tadao Morimoto of the Toray Management Research Institute and Tsukuba University Associate Professor Yutaka Akino—live; from "NHK News 21" program]

[Excerpts] [Sonoda] Today we have Mr. Golembovskiy here with us. Mr. Golembovskiy has been designated new chief editor of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, which was introduced in this program today. Mr. Golembovskiy, who is currently visiting Japan, is known as a reformist among the IZVESTIYA people.

Mr. Golembovskiy, the chief editor who was dismissed today was said to be a conservative. How has this fact affected IZVESTIYA's editorial policy up to now?

[Golembovskiy, speaking in Russian with simultaneous Japanese translation superimposed] Of course he had influence, but I think that this description is not strictly accurate. Mr. Yefimov is a member of the CPSU Central Committee. He was sent by the party to the editorial department and he carried out party policy in the newspaper. But IZVESTIYA is not a party organ. IZVESTIYA has its own publishing house and publication department. IZVESTIYA's management is also in considerably good condition. Therefore, if it wanted to control IZVESTIYA, the CPSU would send chief editors to the paper.

[Sonoda] There are reports that PRAVDA, the Communist Party organ, has decided to sever its ties with the party. Thus, there seems to be progress in the breakaway of Soviet news media from the conservative faction. How do you analyze this trend? How far do you think it will go?

[Golembovskiy] I am afraid that you gentlemen do not have accurate information on PRAVDA, but that is not so important. What did PRAVDA do in the past three days? What sort of news did it print? And whom did it defend? I think these questions are important.

[Sonoda] Thank you very much. We will now carry on this program with the guests, who are here in the studio, also taking part. The guests are Mr. Tadao Morimoto of the Toray Management Research Institute and Tsukuba University associate professor Yutaka Akino. [passage omitted]

[Sonoda] I am addressing this question to Mr. Golembovskiy again. It may all depend on how far the reforms go within the CPSU, the armed forces and the KGB, but what do you think is the possibility of another coup, similar to this one, taking place in the days ahead?

[Golembovskiy] Well, let me speak about the question of the party first. First of all, the CPSU must depart the political arena. This is my firm view. I believe that evidence will begin turning up in the Soviet press and media showing that the CPSU Central Committee was behind the gang of eight—or the State of Emergency Committee. I think this is clear if you take a look at just one fact. Kravchenko, chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, was called in to the CPSU Central Committee at 0500 in the morning on 19 August. He was given the task of blacking out the media, except for local television. He was instructed on what to broadcast. I think that the summoning of a TV network chairman by the party is irrefutable evidence that the party was the ringleader in all of the conspiracies.

Turning to the military, until very recently—in fact, until only a few days ago—the military was represented by marshals and generals. They are orthodox and legitimate Communist Party members. They have no ideologies other than communism. But there are totally different people in the party—young officers, for instance. They have been living in an age which is totally different from that of those marshals. They are not as easily frightened. They are quite well acquainted with the democratic processes. It was these young officers who withdrew the military from the Moscow square and the boulevards. These young officers prevented the bloodshed.

As for the KGB—I think that the KGB should devote itself to the mission it has to carry out. In other words, it should devote itself to anti-espionage activities and the work of safeguarding the security of the state. The KGB in the Soviet Union, however, is entrusted with work vis-a-vis the people. In other words, it tries to discover from among the people those who are not loyal to the party, and then subjects these people to cruel treatment.

You asked me if I think there is the possibility of another coup taking place in the future. Well, I think there is a possibility. As long as leading figures in the KGB, the party and the military remain in leading posts, the possibility of a coup will remain.

[Sonoda] Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Sonoda] Mr. Golembovskiy, do you have any additional, new information?

[Golembovskiy] Yes, I have. I think this information suits the topic being discussed here. It is about the military. It concerns who will be the replacements. I had a call from the editorial department in Moscow today. They told me that the editorial department has solid information. I understand that there is proof that Moiseyev took part in the coup. IZVESTIYA will be carrying that report in its edition today, I was told.

[Sonoda] Well, thank you very much. [passage omitted]

TASS Notes Supension of Korean Credits

LD2308232791 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo Aug 21 TASS—The South Korean Government, with the consent of the leadership of the ruling

Democratic-Liberal Party headed by the country's President No Tae-u, on Wednesday suspended its credits to the Soviet Union until the situation normalises in the USSR, the Japanese KYODO TSUSHIN news agency reports.

Seoul decided to grant the Soviet Union a three billion U.S. dollar credit after both countries established diplomatic relations last September.

Part of the credit has already been issued. The Soviet Union expected to receive 800 million U.S. dollars to buy South Korean consumer goods at the end of August, and half billion U.S. dollars at the end of September.

Trade Cooperation With DPRK Sought

SK2408123991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] PRAVDA carried an article sent from Pyongyang on trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK. A little over 100 years have passed since the two countries, Russia and Korea, officially began to form trade relations. Since the formation of the DPRK, the relations between the two countries have changed qualitatively, of course. For instance, the annual trade volume has reached about 1.5 billion rubles between the Soviet Union and the DPRK. Today, we [word indistinct] that the so-called rapid and mutually beneficial cooperation is not [word indistinct].

Then what caused it? For instance, when our State Planning Committee put forth a new five-year plan for the Union, it (?affected) the five-year cooperation plan with many countries, including the cooperation plan with the Korean side. Therefore, the responsible functionaries willfully forced the enterprises to sell the goods to the DPRK which were not in the agreement or which were not to our benefit even if we sold them.

Then were all the agreements fulfilled? No, far from it. Neither our side nor the Korean side fulfilled all the agreements. Sometimes many Soviet enterprises were compelled to stop production. Hence, the debt of Korea increased like a snowslide. According to official data, Korea owes a debt of 2.7 billion rubles to the Soviet Union. According to the new intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic cooperation signed at the end of April, the Korean side is supposed to pay off a debt of 500 million rubles by supplying consumer goods, electronic goods, and light industrial goods. It will take many more years for Korea to pay off the rest of the debt.

The new bilateral agreement is fundamentally different from the previous ones. The new bilateral agreement visualizes [naeda pogo issumnida] that Korea settle the account with hard currency and at world prices.

In the new plan, the Koreans are to build 20,000 units of houses for the Soviet fishermen in the Far East—more specifically in Nakhodka and Vladivostok. Meanwhile, the plan to use the Korean ship repair yards more extensively will be beneficial to both sides. In other words, there is [word indistinct] of cooperation between our two countries. Over 100 years of trade experience between our two neighborly countries is considerable. During this period, we, as well as the Korean people, have grown accustomed to each other. Each side has come to know what the other side thinks. The most important thing here is to understand that both we and the Koreans objectively wish that the Soviet Union and the DPRK will become mutually beneficial partners.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Meeting in Phatthaya Begins 26 Aug

Prospects Viewed for Talks

BK2508125391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] Reports from Bangkok say preliminary consultative talks are taking place among representatives of Cambodian parties before they attend another meeting of Cambodia's Supreme National Council [SNC] starting on Monday.

In the view of our commentator, Aleksey Nikolayev, observers are focusing their attention on the stances of Phnom Penh and the Khmer Rouge. This is not hard to understand because the rhythm of the Cambodian solution depends on what these two parties take to the coming SNC meeting. What is the situation up to now?

The latest statements from the Khmer Rouge seem to be modest. Furthermore, Comrade Sok An, deputy foreign minister of Cambodia, said that his talks with representatives of the Khmer Rouge were positive and in a spirit of friendship. Attention is also focused on the essence of the memorandum the Khmer Rouge issued before the meeting in Phatthaya. In this memorandum, it is said that the Khmer Rouge agree to discuss some amendments to the UN peace plan. Up to the last minute, the Pol Pot group has vehemently rejected it.

On the contrary, Phnom Penh, by accepting this document as the basis for a solution, has some criticism for this plan. One criticism is that a clause on genocide policy should be included into the document aimed at pointing out the crimes the Pol Pot group committed from 1975 to 1978. Phnom Penh also did not agree with the order stipulated by the UN plan on dissolving all armies of warring Cambodian parties because it would be very difficult to check the dissolution of the Khmer Rouge troops in the jungles and to uncover this force's secret arms caches. Finally, Phnom Penh also opposed the distribution of task between the SNC and the UN administration.

However, preparing for the meeting in Phatthaya, Phnom Penh has also softened its attitude. Commenting

on the interview Comrade Hor Namhong, Cambodian foreign minister, granted to an Italian reporter, AFP says the Phnom Penh delegation at the Phatthaya meeting is ready to discuss the dissolution of troops of various parties and perhaps will not insist on the inclusion of the word genocide into the UN document. At the same time, through this interview, Comrade Hor Namhong also stressed the principled stance that a definitive agreement on a solution should not leave any room for the genocidal regime to return to power in Cambodia. Thus, both the Khmer Rouge and Phnom Penh have expressed readiness to make mutual concessions.

As Samdech Sihanouk already said in Bangkok, he sees his role as adopting at the SNC meeting in Phatthaya a compromise resolution. However, the samdech admitted that this kind of thing is not easy to achieve. In any case, we had better wait until next week when a lot of things will be clear.

Need for Compromise Noted

BK2408112591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Kondrachev]

[Text] The UN special mission in charge of controlling the cease-fire in Cambodia has started work. What are the chances of its success? Here are the views of our commentator Comrade Aleksey Kondrachev.

Cambodia has often shown that weapons in the hands of warring Cambodian parties have usually been used despite a cease-fire agreement, reached in June by warring Cambodian parties specifying they will not open fire on one another and will not receive foreign military aid. This agreement has been violated. Clashes between government troops and Pol Pot extremists have been frequent. Can the UN special mission successfully carry out the difficult task of controlling the cease-fire?

To a large extent the mission's success depends on the goodwill of the warring parties. According to various sources, Comrade Hun Sen's government and Khmer Rouge leaders have expressed their intention to be favorable, which would make for a happy ending for the UN mission.

I think the difference of views among Cambodian leaders on the number of UN observers will be eliminated through compromise. However, the cease-fire is only a condition for a solution to the Cambodian problem. To make this solution a reality, many other difficulties have to be overcome. In other words, there is a good reason for Cambodians to compromise.

The international community has worked out the basis for a solution called the UN plan. Countries that used to provide weapons to warring Cambodian parties have agreed to stop doing so. The program for providing international economic aid to a peaceful Cambodia has already been established. I think this is due to the Cambodian parties. The bud of mutual understanding has bloomed but advance should be quickly made, i.e. the peace process should be made permanent.

In this respect, the meeting of the Cambodian Supreme National Council, to be opened on 26 August, plays a major role. If all Cambodian leaders agree to implement the UN plan, then the work to find a solution can certainly begin.

Minister Interviewed on Soviet-Lao Relations

BK2608065191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Lao 1330 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Report by Igor Shishlin on his interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Economic Relations Minister Yevgeniy Osadchuk on economic relations between the Soviet Union and Lao People's Democratic Republic—read by announcer]

[Summary] The treaty between the Soviet Union and LPDR signed in Vientiane early this year marked the beginning of the promotion of the market-oriented economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR]. Yevgeniy Osadchuk, deputy minister of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, signed the treaty on behalf of the Soviet Union. The deputy minister joins today's program. Commenting on this issue, he says: "The current trade relations between the Soviet Union and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] have been renovated and shifted to the calculation system based on world prices and foreign currencies. We are searching for more effective and fruitful means in handling bilateral economic and trade cooperation. The renovation is possible due to the process of economic development in our two countries." We are shifting to the market economy.

Asked about new developments in economic relations between the two countries, the deputy minister replies: "As we are shifting to a new form of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the LPDR, we must do our utmost to conform with the special characteristics of the existing relations between the two countries so as to defend the long standing relations. First of all, we must [words indistinct] through centralized goods exchange system. We are about to promulgate the market law that is necessary for the balance of the exchange of goods between the two countries and that will enable Laos to build up its economic and trade structures, conducive to the new state of economic relations between the two countries."

Explaining the centralized goods exchange system, the deputy minister says: "Economic relations between the Soviet Union and the LPDR and direct contacts between independent enterprises of the two countries have developed remarkably. We are creating new conditions to promote bilateral relations. Enterprises at present are allowed to choose their trade partners independently and

have the right to sell their products for foreign currencies. Moreover, trade companies of the two countries are signing direct contracts by using money [as medium of exchange]. In our opinion, this is the future of the direct economic relations between our two countries."

Asked about the roles of the ministry in connection with the direct relations between companies and enterprises of the two countries, the deputy minister says: "We, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union, will guarantee conditions for free trade and economic movements. We will defend the interests and rights of both sides. The ministry will provide advice and [words indistinct]. Certainly, during the transition period, we will have to find new ways for our operations while continuing to function as normal. We must carefully assess ways of promoting economic relations between the Soviet Union and Laos. We must study all new forms of access from the ministerial level down to the enterprise level. We believe that our two countries are capable of, and must continue, promoting and expanding economic and trade cooperation by defending and retaining the special features of the relations between the two countries."

Asked if the defense of special features of the trade and economic relations between the two countries will not obstruct the market-oriented relations, the deputy minister says: "I do not think so. New requirements will force enterprises both to produce goods and consumer goods that can compete in the market and to seek markets for the sale of their jointly produced goods in third countries. We believe that we should study new steps."

Igor Shishlin notes: "I personally believe that in practice the documents signed between the two countries will pose many difficulties in implementing [words indistinct]. Our two countries might come across numerous obstacles in applying new methods of working. Enterprises of our two countries, in many aspects, continue to work in the old style and are unable to satisfy the present requisites. We believe that the new period of economic and trade relations between our two countries requires innovations and initiatives from all sectors." The deputy minister agrees with him and says: "We are not very much concerned about this new form of relations and cooperation. Certainly, we will soon come across a number of difficulties. But the process is irreversible. It is necessary to make changes so as to boost the efficiency of cooperation between our two countries. We must shift to the market mechanism.

"Igor Shishlin notes before concluding that in the future we will shift to the market mechanism in maintaining economic relations between the Soviet Union and the LPDR and the new structure of the relations will be formed in the near future."

Supreme Soviet

CPSU Groups in Organization To Cease Activity

LD2408152291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The party committee, in conjunction with the primary party organizations, of the USSR Supreme Soviet secretariat has adopted a decision on the expediency of ceasing the activity of the CPSU organization in the apparatus of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Initiative Group' Prepares for Special Session

LD2408210691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of the deputies' initiative group for preparing and carrying out the extraordinary sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies was held today in the country's Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

[Begin recording] [Volkov, deputy chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Labor and Social Policy] The Supreme Soviet leadership, first of all in the person of Comrade Lukyanov, has done nothing to convene an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet, and moreover, the agenda which was being prepared for this session was practically being prepared for the approval of the putschists' actions. That's why the initiative group of the USSR people's deputies began their sittings here on 20 August. The aim of our work is to prepare well for the USSR Supreme Soviet session so that it will make decisions which will serve to strengthen the lawfulness in our state and to punish all those guilty of being involved in this coup.

[V. Ya. Stadnik, chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee for State Construction] And our other task is, namely, not to turn the session into a kangaroo court, of course; not to liken ourselves to Bolshevism; not to liken ourselves to the party which brought us these events, to investigate from the constitutional and legal positions, to give our evaluation, our conclusions, but not to drag this out for a long time because we believe that the danger is still there and we should ensure that our people live in peace, with confidence and with clarity. [end recording]

Proposes Agenda

LD2408120191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1748 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug Tass—At the meeting of the initiative group of USSR people's deputies which took place in Moscow on 23 August, 1991, at which there were, among others, representatives of all parliamentary factions, a number of proposals were submitted concerning the holding of an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was proposed that the following issues should be included in the agenda for the session.

1. Information (a speech) by the USSR President about the state coup of 19 August, 1991.

2. An evaluation of the role of the leadership of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR state bodies in the events of 19 August, 1991.

3. On depriving the leading figures—who took part in the preparation and implemention of the coup or who facilitated the USSR state coup on 19 August, 1991—of their deputy's powers and on relieving them of their posts.

4. On a list of urgent measures and legislative acts to exclude the possibility of a repetition of the events of 19 August, 1991 and on their adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet and by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

5. On setting up a commission to investigate the events of 19 August, 1991, the definition of its powers and the principles for its formation and composition.

6. The adoption of a decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet on the USSR state coup of 19 August, 1991.

7. The adoption of an appeal to the peoples of the Union and the peoples of the world.

8. On summoning an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

9. On renewing the activities of a deputies' working group to work out a scheme for the security of the country, which was abolished by A.I.Lukyanov on 9 June, 1990.

10. On suspending the activities of the CPSU Central Committee.

Proposals were also submitted to the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on preparing for participants in the session a dossier of materials and documents on the course of events during 18-21 August, 1991 reflecting the role of various state structures and bodies of authority—including the notes of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session of 19 August, 1991; the draft decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 21 August; as well as copies of State Council for the State of Emergency documents, including the resolutions of A.I.Lukyanov showing his complicity with the putschists.

Participants in the meeting considered it their duty to invite representatives of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to participate in the work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also to offer them the rostrum at the session to make their appeals to the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies have supported the initiative of the editorial board of the NARODNIY DEPUTAT [People's

Deputy] magazine to issue an emergency edition of the magazine with material and documents relating to the quelling of the coup.

Deputies participating in the meeting sent an appeal to M.S.Gorbachev, the USSR President, which insists on the adoption of a decree about the seizure of the archives of the USSR KGB, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Ministry of Defense and the CPSU Central Committee.

Special Session Opens

LD2608071291 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 26 Aug 91

[by TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—The Soviet parliament today opens its special session with a joint sitting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

The supreme legislative body is expected to give an official assessment of the August 19 coup attempt and the role of the parliament and state bodies in these events, then create an investigating commission and determine its powers.

During the coup, the Soviet parliament occupied the wait-and-see position, while according to the Russian leadership, parliament head Anatoliy Lukyanov was among the "main ideologists of the plot".

Deputies are expected to discuss measures and legislative acts eliminating the possibility of a repetition of a coup d'etat. They are also expected to discuss convening an extraordinary congress of people's deputies of the Soviet Union in the near future.

A meeting of a group of people's deputies of the USSR on Saturday rejected proposals that the parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union dissolve themselves. They believed the proposal was premature.

President Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to address the session with his assessment of recent events. During his first news conference, Gorbachev spoke about the coup, but important events occurred after that.

Gorbachev officially accused the Soviet Communist Party leadership of supporting the coup and on Saturday announced his resignation from his position as party leader. He also recommended the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee to disband itself. During the session, Gorbachev is expected to speak about a role for the party in future society.

According to political observers, Gorbachev's decision and his decrees banning party activities in the Army, law-enforcement bodies and state institutions, and transferring party property to councils of people's deputies have practically determined the fate of the Soviet Communist Party.

The session will also discuss the fate of the Union treaty, which was to be signed by the Soviet president and the leaders of nine republics on August 20.

But the coup attempt and the victory of democratic forces in Russia and developments in other republics, including the Ukraine's independence proclaimed by the republican parliament, have considerably changed the correlation of forces. This will undoubtedly be reflected in the draft treaty.

The situation in the country and the agenda suggest the session will be very heated.

'New Information' Implicates Lukyanov in Coup

OW2408182091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX learned that on Saturday the USSR Supreme Soviet's committees and subcommittees were discussing, among other things, the role chairman of the Union parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov had played in the coup. Many parliamentarians spoke in his support.

In the meantime, new information has been coming that implicates Lukyanov in the coup attempt. Specifically, chairman of the League of Science and Industry of the USSR Arkadiy Volskiy offered the Interfax a report on the meeting Lukyanov had had with 14 parliamentarians who are members of the League of Science and Industry on August 20 at 17:00. The meeting's objective was to ascertain Lukyanov's position vis-a-vis the Emergency Committee and the anti-constitutional emergency rule.

Lukyanov said that on August 18 he had been invited by premier Pavlov to Moscow and met vith Pavlov around 21:00. Pavlov told him that a group led by Oleg Baklanov was visiting Gorbachev in the Crimea. Pavlov suggested that Lukyanov join the Emergency Committee but the latter allegedly declined.

Asked by the parliamentarians about Gorbachev's health, Lukyanov said that he had seen the president on August 13. According to Lukyanov, Gorbachev was in "fairly bad health" and complained of pains in the heart and kidneys.

Asked if he had a medical report on the president's health, Lukyanov answered in the affirmative. Asked to have it published, he said: "I believe we should not do that. Do you know what it says in the report?", clearly implying the disease was grave.

Lukyanov: No 'Responsibility'

LD2608090191 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—On the eve of an extraordinary session of the Soviet parliament, Anatoliy Lukyanov announced his resignation from the post of chair of the Soviet parliament.

Lukyanov told Soviet and foreign correspondents he "bears no moral responsibility for the coup".

Lukyanov said that on Wednesday the Soviet parliament presidium demanded Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev cancel his decrees as illegal.

"Maybe, in that situation it was necessary to do more. But I could not even leave my office, as republic leaders told me: 'Don't leave, you are our only link with the Union'," Lukyanov said.

Lukyanov said the Soyuz deputy group had not supported the coup.

According to Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, "Anatoliy Lukyanov was the main ideologue of the coup".

Deputies Nominate Yakovlev, Shevardnadze to Posts

LD2608090991 Moscow TASS in English 0847 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—A group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet nominated Aleksandr Yakovlev as USSR vice president and Eduard Shevardnadze as USSR foreign minister.

To substantiate their proposal, deputies said that Yakovlev and Shevardnadze had launched perestroyka together with Mikhail Gorbachev and resumed a highly responsible civic stance in the days of the state coup.

Consitution Committee Chairman Blames CPSU

LD2608095591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Committee for Compliance With the Constitution, called the CPSU leadership "the plot's main figure."

Sergey Alekseyev added in an interview with a TASS correspondent, given today in the corridors of the session of the country's parliament, that "the court will decide who specifically is to blame for the coup attempt. I, as a lawyer, can say nothing at present."

Answering the question on the position taken by TASS during the days of the coup, Sergey Alekseyev revealed that on 19 August "he tried to have the statement by the USSR Committee for Compliance With the Constitution published. He spoke to the TASS leadership on the telephone, asking that the publication not be blocked."

Having stressed that TASS assisted "the only trickle of truth to get through on the first day of the putsch," Sergey Alekseyev stated that this "has instilled hope in people." At the same time, the chairman of the country's parliamentary committee said that, in transmitting the statement via the channels of TASS, cuts were made. He declined to elaborate on whose initiative this happened. "Our staff member was at TASS," Sergey Alekseyev explained, adding that he was given the choice of either having the document published in a shortened version or having censorship not allowing it through." "We were forced to agree," Sergey Alekseyev noted. "At least a small voice of truth got through," he stressed. Replying to a question immediate measures which must be taken to prevent repetition of anticonstitutional coups in the country, Alekseyev reported that he "intends to speak at the session on this issue and does not want to anticipate events."

Presidium Approves Arrest of SCSE Members

OW2208201491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet gave its go-ahead for the arrest of the members of the State of Emergency Committee [SEC] who enjoy parliamentary immunity, People's Deputy of the USSR, Alexey Levashev, who participated in the session of the Presidium, told IF [INTERFAX].

Besides Vassiliy Starodubtsev and Oleg Baklanov, both of them members of the State of Emergency Committee, the Presidium has given its go-ahead for the arrest of three more people's deputies, among them Chief of the Soviet President's Office, Valeriy Boldin and Commander-in-Chief of the Land [Ground] Forces, Valentin Varennikov.

Mr. Levashev said that Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Lukyanov, had been barred from conducting parliamentary sessions. This job will be done by Ivan Laptev.

He also said that Anatoliy Lukyanov had denied charges of being actively involvement in the organization of the State of Emergency Committee.

On Thursday, Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Ivan Silayev described Anatoliy Lukyanov as "the coup's chief ideologist".

Political & Social

Gorbachev Resigns as CPSU General Secretary

LD2408191891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our editorial office has just received a statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev:

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo did not come against the coup d'etat. The Central Committee did not manage to take a decisive position of condemnation and resistance, did not arouse the communists for struggle against the assault on the constitutional lawfullness. Members of the party leadership were among the conspirators. A number of the party Committees and media supported the actions of the state criminals. This has put millions of communists in a false situation. Many party members refused to cooperate with the conspirators, condemned the coup, and joined in the struggle against it.

No one has the moral right to accuse all Communists indiscriminately and I, as president, consider myself obliged to defend them as citizens against unfounded accusations.

In this situation, the CPSU Central Committee must adopt a difficult but honorable decision on its dissolution.

The fate of republican Communist parties and local party organizations will be determined by they themselves.

I do not consider it possible for myself to continue to perform the functions of CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and I surrender those powers.

I believe that democratically inclined Communists who have preserved their loyalty to constitutional legality and the course of the renewal of society will come out in favor of setting up a party on a new basis which is capable, along with all progressive forces, of joining actively in the continuation of radical democratic transformations in the interests of people of labor.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev.

Bans Political Groups in Armed Forces

LD2408190291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Decree by the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on halting the activity of political parties and political movements in the armed forces of the USSR, law enforcement bodies and the state apparatus.

1. The activity of political parties and political movements is to be halted in the USSR armed forces, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR State Security Committee, and other law enforcement bodies, in the railway troops, and in all other military formations and organs of the state apparatus.

2. Members of political parties and political movements employed in the aforementioned structures and bodies are to implement their constitutional right to participate in political activity outside these bodies and in off-duty time.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorabchev.

Orders Seizure of Party Property

LD2408190391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Decree issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Decree of the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the property of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

First: The soviets of people's deputies are to take under their protection the property of the CPSU. The question of its future use must be decided strictly in accordance with the laws of the USSR and the republics on property and public associations.

Second: In accordance with the existing legislation, the soviets of people's deputies are to take measures on finding work and on the social provision for the workers of those party committees that are ending their activity. Law enforcement and other state bodies must not permit any violations of civil rights.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Seeks No-Confidence Vote in Cabinet

LD2408184791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast; read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, we just received a decree by USSR President Gorbachev on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

First, in connection with the fact that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers did not fulfill its constitutional duty and did not take the necessary measures to frustrate the state conspiracy and that individual members of the Cabinet participated directly in it, in accordance with Article 14 of the USSR law on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, I place the issue of confidence in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers before the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Second, for the organization of operational management of the country's national economy jointly with the republics, a committee will be set up, headed by Silayev as the leader and with Volskiy, Luzhkov, and Yavlinskiy as deputies. They will be entrusted with determining the membership of the committee and appointing, within two days, people responsible for managing specific spheres of work. [signed] Mikhail Gorbachev.

Party Members Propose Dissolution

LD2408190791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Statement by a Group of Members of the Central Committee of the CPSU"; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU, and first and foremost its leadership, bears the moral responsibility toward the people and society for the attempt at a coup d'etat undertaken by a handful of adventurists. We mean not only the state criminals from among the leaders of the party, but the party as the political and state structure, which created the current system and the moral and political climate, under which the preparation and implementation of the coup became possible.

We recognize with bitterness that the reforming section of the CPSU suffered a defeat. The moral responsibility of our party is not in doubt. Therefore, we propose, firstly, that the CPSU declare its own dissolution, thus granting Party members an opportunity for political self-determination which all citizens of the USSR have at their disposal. Secondly, that the property of the CPSU be handed over to the people, heeding the laws on property and the activities of public organizations. Thirdly, that work be begun on creating a party of left-wing forces, built on the platform of freedom and democracy, proceeding from the fact that this party does not aspire to a leading role in society and will conduct political work using legal parliamentary methods on an equal basis with other parties.

Fourthly, the possibility of forming such a party could be discussed together with organizations such as the Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, the initiative group of Communists and other left-wing forces. We are not statesmen and do not aspire towards any special role in this process. Our aim is to call for discussion and for speedy organizational steps in which millions of the members of the currently disintegrating CPSU could participate.

[Signed Bikkenin, Grachev, Degtyarev, Zhurkin, Latsis, Martynov, Mikhaylov.

Komsomol Leader Quits Central Committee

LD2308190591 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The Bureau of the Soviet young Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee on Friday supported the Komsomol Central Committee's position during the coup and its statement on August 20.

The Bureau adopted a statement condemning the Soviet Communist Party leadership's activities during the coup.

Vladimir Zyukin, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, informed the Bureau about his decision to quit the membership in the CPSU Central Committee after Komsomol separated itself from the Communist Party, which connived at the plotters and betrayed all honest Communists.

The Bureau stressed the need to convene a Komsomol congress to amend the Komsomol charter and programme, as well as change the organisations' name to make it correspond to its political line.

Falin Denies CPSU Involvement in Putsch

LD2408092591 Hamburg DPA in German 0405 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—In the words of Central Committee Secretary Valentin Falin, the CPSU had nothing to do with the coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev. Only one member in the Politburo "joined the plotters," Falin said in an interview with the Hamburg news magazine DER SPIEGEL, which was prereleased today. He criticized attempts to link "the party with the coup." It would be a "tragedy if this party were denied the opportunity of becoming a democratic party."

It is, however, "somewhat strange" that Gorbachev was saved by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, of all people—a man who had left the party and had himself banned activities by the party in Russia. Yeltsin thus also deserves the gratitude of the party he left.

CPSU Inaction on Putsch Assailed

PM2308175991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by S. Oganyan: "So As Not To Fall One By One. Belated Confessions"; title refers to refrain of popular song by Bulat Okudzhava, which runs in full "Let us join hands, friends, so as not to fall one by one"]

[Text] I will begin these notes from the rally at Russia's "White House" with the events of the previous day, 21 August, which was the junta's last day. Why was it the last? Because this was the decision of the people, whose wishes the conspirators, so they declared, were accommodating when venturing on their state crime—to oust and isolate the USSR president. The people, as it became clear, had quite different wishes. And they made them known absolutely convincingly to the putschists.

But we were also interested in the question of how the CPSU Central Committee would react to the arrest and disappearance of its general secretary. All the telephones available to the editorial offices by which we might have received information about M. Gorbachev's true state of health were silent.

Also silent was the CPSU Central Committee. And then some vague talk began. First rumors were circulated about an emergency Central Committee plenum scheduled for 20 August, although many of us were expecting that the Politburo, or in an extreme case, the deputy general secretary, would manage to put forward an

assessment of the coup and demand the liberation of the "ailing" CPSU leader without waiting for this session. This, as everyone knows, was not done. Neither 19 nor 20 August. And only on 21 August, when the capitulation of the junta was no longer a cause for doubt for anyone, did a communication from the Central Committee Secretariat appear: "V. Ivashko raised with acting USSR President G.I. Yanayev the question of an immediate meeting with Central Committee General Secretary M. Gorbachev."

They have come to their senses! This was the reaction to this loyal appeal to the pretender, whom they nonetheless address respectfully as "acting USSR president." The whole world, all Russia is talking of a usurper and a thief, and Gorbachev's closest comrade-in-arms addresses the criminal by a title which the latter appropriated for himself. And further on in the request there are completely surprising things: You see, "Without such a direct meeting...the party leadership cannot and is not entitled to determine its political assessment of the events which took place 19 August and give party members exhaustive and objective information about the development of the situation."

I consider the behavior of the party leadership in these three tragic days treacherous. Treacherous not only with regard to M. Gorbachev—he now has a collection of traitors in both the party and the presidential line. The Central Committee committed treachery above all toward the rank and file members of the party, on whose heads all disasters may now fall. With its—to put it mildly—enigmatic behavior the Central Committee leadership has cast a shadow over the whole party.

The CPSU Central Committee has also dealt a blow to the reputation of PRAVDA and the journalists who work on it.

This is what I was thinking at the rally of victors, which took place on the square outside Russia's "White House." The square which it was unanimously decided to dub the Square of Free Russia.

But the demonstrators showed unanimity not only in this. The anticommunism of the participants was unanimous. And this is also due to the "good offices" of the CPSU Central Committee.

I will not describe the rally—the free, liberated radio and television, which the junta had once again tried to force into the role of the people's musical educator, has broadcast this demonstration extensively and without commentaries. A demonstration of people who have managed to overcome their shock, rid themselves of fear, and reject indecision. People who have made a choice in favor of freedom and democracy.

And the party which once wrote these words on its banners suffered a blow at this rally. Its consequences are not difficult to predict. On a day of the people's exultation, the CPSU, through the fault of its leadership, is not simply isolated from the people but is being even totally rejected by many people.

I watched these people, and thought that Stanislaw Jerzy Lec, the brilliant aphorist who once remarked that a chain can be easily formed from ciphers, was not correct. No, it was the people, consisting of individuals who knew what they were risking when on Tuesday night-Wednesday morning the junta could have actually gone so far as the bloody storming of Russia House.

They were together, and that is why they did not fall one by one.

I was among these individuals. I was one of them. This victory is my victory. Probably there were quite a few members of the CPSU among the tens of thousands of people who encircled Russia's "White House" on those anxious days and nights. Now, after the victory, they will be faced with a new choice—to remain in the party or not.

Their decision will in many ways—will in the main—be determined by the position of the CPSU leadership, which is still dallying over its assessments of the events of 19 August 1991.

...The most popular cry at the rally, easily and spiritedly taken up by the crowd, was the slogan: "Down With the CPSU!" In my view, it is directed first of all—and only—at the party leadership. And to put off conclusions, or—I beg your pardon—organizational conclusions, is not recommended. Especially in the light of the statement of [Kazakh President] N. Nazarbayev published today, and the results of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Demise of CPSU as 'Ruling Party' Seen

914B0326C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Remember All, and Think Everything Over"]

[Text] As is our ironclad custom, we do not asked for names, but only for numbers: How many people perished this time around. We should, we definitely should announce to the entire country and memorize the names of all who died on the night of 21 August defending the Supreme Soviet of Russia. (It is terrifying how history replicates dates on occasion; however, it cannot replicate events. On 21 August 1968, our tanks crushed the freedom of Prague. This was preordained since then: According to inexorable political logic, we were to see tanks on the streets of Moscow sooner or later. Fortunately, we saw the tanks leave this time around, on 21 August, and I can imagine the overwhelming relief of those who were inside them).

The time has come to mention those who were killed. The time has come to mention those who will answer for

the murders. The time has come to ponder what happened to us during these three days.

Of course, there are grounds for satisfaction. Democracy turned out to be stronger than its opponents had expected, and more mature than even its alarmed inherents had thought. The decisive word was spoken by the democracy of Russia. (Taking advantage of this opportunity, I will add a word to my long-standing argument with the democrats of the Baltics. These days proved yet again how difficult it is for us—if at all possible—to run away from totalitarianism separately. However, we may hope to overcome it together.) There are grounds to be happy indeed. However, it is not worthwhile to spend time doing this. Not one of the concerns that consumed us before the putsch has receded a single millimeter. Clarity as to what the nature of our woes is and how to get rid of them is the only thing that there is more of. Well, not so. It has merely become clearer in what manner we cannot get rid of these woes. It has become clear what cannot help—the path of emergency measures, which some had long demanded and which the sober-minded had always cautioned against, may only destroy us.

It is difficult to recover from astonishment in view of how sonorously and imperiously they sought these emergency measures, and how quickly and pathetically they failed. What did these yesterday's people count on? How could they be so blind? When we ask ourselves these questions now, let us not delude ourselves: If "our" reactionaries turned out to be blind then they were so in one eye only. They observed some things correctly. They noticed correctly that reforms were going nowhere, and that democracy was displaying weakness. They figured out, in keeping with the logic of political struggle and not altogether unwisely, that our weakness was their asset.

They were not mistaken in thinking that the people were dissatisfied with their situation, and rightly so. They made only one fatal mistake: They equated the dissatisfaction of the people with Gorbachev's policy with their own dissatisfaction. They were not capable of appreciating that democracy and reaction which were on different sides relative to "the center" were also dissatisfied differently. Reactionaries were dissatisfied with reforms, whereas the people were dissatisfied with the reforms being late and their results being poor.

The reforms will now be continued differently. I do not know whether it will be better, but certainly not the way it used to be. Six years of Gorbachev's great compromise, which will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the most astonishing epochs in the history of our astonishing country, are over. Gorbachev, a genius of accord, pushed forward the most irreconcilable forces on the same team slowly, step by step; he found common interests even where nobody saw them. This policy produced results exceeding all expectations. Nonetheless, it had a limit. The very occurrence of the putsch confirmed that we had exceeded this limit. Both sides, the democrats and the reactionaries, were unhappy with the compromise. It is characteristic that the democrats, who clearly had superior forces, still did not violate the compromise, seeing civil peace as a greater value than the pace of the reforms. It is very important to affirm this now. This was correct because civil peace in itself was the most valuable accomplishment of the policy of reforms. The democrats did not violate the accord of six years; it was violated by the reactionaries. Continuing the policy of compromising with the reactionaries has now become impossible.

I am writing this without gloating or jubilation. I know that the tasks of the future political leadership are more complicated than old tasks, instead of simpler. The administrative economy has collapsed irreversibly. It is impossible to restore economic life without market stimuli beginning to operate in full force.

This presupposes two conditions, creating which is as painful as a surgical operation: price liberalization and an antimonopoly state policy. People of modest means who are in a majority will agree to endure such a transition only under a government of trust, and only after they have become convinced that the state itself has discontinued all excessive expenditures, especially for producing armaments. So far, despite all of its demands, the public has not even been given credible information about this, to say nothing about an opportunity to actually influence decisionmaking.

One more issue to which we are unaccustomed will have to be pondered: The issue of the party. Having abandoned the former Article 6 of the Constitution, the CPSU gave up the once usurped "right" to be a ruling party regardless of the expression of will of the people. However, it remained a ruling party based on the results of elections, as the majority party in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and as the party to which the USSR president belonged. On 19 August, on the day of the putsch, this party came to the end of its historic path. When Yanayev announced that the junta of the State Committee for the State of Emergency had been set up without consultations with the Politburo it became clear that this was no longer a ruling party. After the Politburo had remained silent for two days about the seizure of its general secretary elected by a congress it became clear that this was no longer a party at all (I am repeating here a phrase written as early as yesterday in a short letter to IZVESTIYA but crossed out by reason of censorship). This is what the de-facto state of affairs is. I hope that we will find out soon what conclusions will be drawn de-jure.

Perhaps it was precisely within the party that the six years of efforts by Gorbachev were the least productive. It was precisely among the leadership of the party apparatus that he encountered the greatest hostility—despite his fighting to the last to preserve the party by renewing it. A draft new program became his last weighty contribution to this. This is a document that is far from perfect, but undoubtedly a document of democratic reforms in its entire spirit. At the last plenum of

the Central Committee, the draft ran into furious resistance from reactionaries. That evening, having talked to N. Bikkenin, editor in chief of KOMMUNIST, Gorbachev called me and said: You are going to speak tomorrow. There were just a few phrases, and the following was among them: "A policy should be pursued, and a program should be advocated that would be unacceptable to the dinosaurs."

This phrase concentrates all the nobility and vulnerability of his policy. He fights for programs and ideas whereas his opponents fight for power. They allowed the publication of the draft they found unpleasant with indifferent ease, but they argued fiercely over procedures for electing delegates to the forthcoming congress and procedures of the congress itself which they sought—that the congress be called extraordinary. I will explain for the uninitiated: According to the statute, the old membership of the Central Committee does not resign at an extraordinary congress, unlike at a regular congress, but a general secretary may be elected.

I will never forget the furious response from a segment of the audience when anybody tried to refer to what was actually a call for a putsch, published at the time by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and signed, among others, by two future members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and two highly placed generals. It is now understandable that they were enraged by their inability to show us right away what they had in mind for all of us.

Well, they have shown it by now. They have shown, but it is up to all of us to clean up our common mess. It will not be cleaned up in the absence of a civilized democratic system. The latter cannot but include civilized political parties capable of political criticism and self-criticism. In any case, there will be a party among them that will write on its banners the slogan of free development of the individual because this is a common human value which has always existed and will always exist.

Perestroyka as a "revolution from the top" is becoming a thing of the past. Perestroyka as a cause of the people themselves is gathering strength. This is a difficult and tormenting endeavor but it is ours, close to the heart. It cannot be surrendered.

CPSU Control Commission Statement on Putsch

LD2308191191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1831 GMT 23 Aug 91

["Statement by the Presidium of the CPSU Central Control Commission"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—The text of a statement adopted today by the Presidium of the CPSU Central Control Commission follows:

Our country is experiencing a difficult time. Severe trials have also fallen to the lot of the CPSU. A group of highly placed officials have undertaken anticonstitutional actions with the aim of carrying out a coup d'etat. Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was forcefully removed from the performance of his duties. The members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] carried out their ambitious intrigues in the worst traditions of totalitarianism—in deep secrecy.

The Presidium of the CPSU Central Control Commission resolutely condemns the unlawful actions of persons, party members, who took part in the attempted coup d'etat and who have caused enormous damage to the country and the CPSU. A decision has been adopted to expel the former members of the SCSE from the party. Other guilty parties will also be made answerable to the party.

The Presidium of the Central Control Commission deems necessary the immediate convening of a combined plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the CPSU to analyze the August events and make the appropriate political assessment. The causes that allowed certain officials to usurp power, disregard the will of millions of people, and speak on their behalf have to be uncovered. We believe the date of the extraordinary CPSU congress should be moved as far forward as possible.

The Presidium of the CPSU Central Control Commission supports the efforts of the USSR president to restore constitutional order in the country and to carry out democratic reforms. It shares his view that, at this difficult time, the correct decision was eventually adopted in the Central Committee Secretariat, thanks to healthy forces.

At the same time the Central Control Commission wishes to protest the anti-Communist hysteria that has been unleashed in a number of places and the attempts to blame the entire party for the criminal actions of a band of adventurers. We appeal to the leaders of state bodies at all levels not to succumb to emotion, to be solely guided in their actions by the law. The struggle for progress and democracy has nothing in common with violation of human rights and the persecution of people for their political convictions.

CPSU To Investigate Putsch Events

LD2308154491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Resolution issued by CPSU Central Control Commission Presidium]

[Text] 1. To note that communists and leaders Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Pavlov, Pugo, Starodubtsev, Tizyakov, Yazov, Yanayev, members of the unconstitutional State Committee for the State of Emergency, grossly violated the principled requirements of the CPSU Rules, according to which all organizations and parties and every communist must action within the framework of

the constitution and Soviet laws. They forcibly discharged M.S. Gorbachev from the leadership of the country and the party and trampled upon the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress. For organizing the coup, to expel CPSU members Baklanov, Kryuchkov, Pavlov, Starodubtsev, Tizyakov, Yazov, and Yanayev from the party. To take into consideration that B.K. Pugo committed suicide.

2. To carry out a party examination of the actions by individual members of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee during this period.

Secretariat Seeks Permission for Plenum

LD2508172191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Stanislav Aganyan, correspondent of the newspaper PRAVDA, telephoned us today. He said that the newspaper had received a statement from Petr Luchinskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. But that is a statement by the Secretariat. Obviously Petr Luchinskiy has forgotten that PRAVDA is not being published now, in accordance with the decree by the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Therefore, the correspondent decided to hand the document over to us. I will read the text of the statement by the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee to you now:

On 24 August, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced that he was renouncing the duties of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee since the leadership of the party did not take clear and precise positions with regard to the conspirators who undertook the attempted state coup. The Secretariat states with indignation that several members of the CPSU Central Committee were among the adventurers who raised their hands against democracy and law. We state with full responsibility that the criminal plans were elaborated in deep secrecy from the elective bodies of the party and everything which happened on 19 August placed the Secretariat and the Politburo of the Central Committee before a fait accompli.

It is hard to object to the reproaches that the Secretariat was not able to rouse the party to organized battle against the coup organizers and did not head that struggle politically. The Secretariat strove to do everything to avoid bloodshed. From the very outset, the Secretariat insisted upon an immediate meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The opportunity for such a meeting was granted only on the third day.

The members of the Central Committee, obviously, must adopt a difficult, but the only possible decision in the present conditions on dissolving the Central Committee. The published draft of the new program may be an acceptable basis for the unification of the supporters of democratic reforms, the realization of the priorities of human rights and freedoms. Every communist, guided by his convictions and conscience, must make his choice.

We appeal to the president of the USSR, the president of the RSFSR, the leadership of all republics, to allow a plenum of the Central Committee, or another organizational event, to be held in Moscow, so that the practical questions connected with the further fate of the party and of ordinary communists can be examined.

You have just heard the text of the statement by the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee which was handed over to us from the editorial board of PRAVDA which is not being published.

Gorbachev Addresses Mourners of Demonstrators

LD2408082591 Moscow Central Television First Program network in Russian 0709 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Address by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to rally of mourners in Manezh Square in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear Muscovites, looking at these young faces and into the eyes of their parents it is difficult for me to speak. But permit me, as president, not only on my own behalf and not only on your behalf, but on behalf of the whole country, on behalf of all Russians, to bow low before these young people, these young people who gave their lives by standing in the way of those who wished to destroy democracy, to return the country to the dark times, to a totalitarian regime, to push the country into the abyss of bloody slaughter.

Thank you to the parents. That is the only thing that we can say at this difficult hour of trial for them, they had brought up people who were true citizens of their fatherland, of our fatherland.

I consider myself obliged. I think that we all consider ourselves obliged before the memory of these young people, right to the end, no matter how difficult it may be, and it is difficult and onerous for all of us, we know all of this, to proceed along the chosen path of democracy and freedom, to make our way more quickly onto the road of normal development and improvement of people's lives.

Now we shall do everything to ensure that this comes about.

Those who went in for the putsch will get what they deserve. There will be no forgiveness.

As the country's president I signed a decree today on awarding to Dmitriy Komar, Ilya Krichevskiy, and Vladimir Usov, posthumously the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. I regard this as our common duty in order to render what we can do with regard to these young people who have prematurely departed this life. We are seeing off true citizens on their final journey. I bow down

low before them for everything that they have done. They have done everything. They have given their lives. Thank you.

Gorbachev Reassuming Duties, Holding Meetings

Moscow Military Commander Dismissed

LD2408085691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0807 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Colonel General Kalinin, the Moscow commandant, commander of the troops of the Moscow Military District, has been removed from office.

This is on the instructions of the president of the USSR.

Appoints New Defense, Security Officials

LD2308200591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received USSR presidential decrees on new appointments. Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov has been appointed USSR minister of defense; Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security; Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs; Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy minister of defense; and Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, USSR deputy minister of defense and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Committee for Defense and Security.

Under the president's decrees, the following have been released from their duties: Yazov, USSR minister of defense; Moiseyev, acting USSR minister of defense, chief of the General Staff of the USSR armed forces; Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs and member of the USSR Security Council; Shabarshin, acting chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security; and Trushin, acting USSR minister of internal affairs.

These presidential decrees will be submitted for consideration by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Discusses Union Treaty With Republic Leaders

LD2308185191 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Friday met leaders of nine Soviet republics to discuss urgent measures in the current situation in the country.

They focused on food, fuel and energy problems and ways to stabilise the financial situation.

Participants unanimously agreed that the signing of a Union treaty is a major factor to stabilise the political and economic situation in the country and reach inter-ethnic accord.

The leaders discussed appointments to the key posts and the Soviet president's decrees.

The meeting was attended by Boris Yeltsin, Leonid Kravchuk, Nikolay Dementey, Islam Karimov, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Ayaz Mutalibov, Askar Akayev, Kakhar Makhkamov and Saparmurad Niyazov.

Interviewed on Lessons of Putsch

LD2608001291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1928 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Interview with President M.S. Gorbachev by announcer Aleksandr Lyubimov on 25 August; place not given; from the "Vzglyad" program—recorded]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Ignatenko says to me: It's "Vzglyad" again. Well, I agreed because our views coincide [pun on Russian word "Vzglyad"—view]. [laughs] Do you remember that?

[Lyubimov] Yes, yes, I remember. Thank you very much for your self-possession. Today you are already with us here in Moscow, in the Kremlin. People will see this film today, in my reworking, of a professional standard.

[Gorbachev] Did it work out?

[Lyubimov] Everything worked out.

[Gorbachev] My own specialist, Anatoliy—and then we cut it into a serial and released it. Well, in some places you might alter it, but probably ....

[Lyubimov, interrupting] That doesn't matter. Well, what can you now say to add to all these three days, purely about your human feelings, not political feelings?

[Gorbachev] Well, about my human feelings, you know, when I went to the funeral yesterday to say goodbye to the young men and I saw those faces, I thought: how much could have happened, how gravely it could all have turned out. Therefore, well, perhaps we are still bad democrats, we are still learning this democracy, and all the time, comrades, you know, let us think about how we are to work and to live in the conditions of democracy. You see, it only appears to be so simple. But it will work out. And I was so happy that this democracy, that precisely what has happened in these conditions with our society didn't allow this right-wing, reactionary coup to pass. And the people didn't support it. The main masses of society, after all, generally rejected it, shall we say. We won't say everyone, that we are always monolithic and so on. No. And the Army didn't support it and act against the people. Listen, I now have so many facts, and what facts!

[Lyubimov] The Alpha group didn't move against the White House [Russian Parliament].

[Gorbachev] That's right. It was created to fight terrorists, not its own people, after all. How could it move against them? They stated directly that they were ready to stand before a tribunal but they wouldn't move against them. Therefore, again and again, people are continuing to take the path, the difficult path upon which we have embarked, and to resolve, to attempt to resolve things by other methods. Breaking society and people across your knee—no. We must advance step by step, and now we might perhaps hasten our step decisively.

Incidentally, I was coming from the funeral yesterday and there was this human wall of sympathy and support, and at the same time, you know, they were saying: Mikhail Sergeyevich, do not stop the reforms. And I understood. It is they who wanted to gamble on the fact that people's lives are difficult. And, you know, yes, it is difficult for people to live. Life is hard. It has to be changed more rapidly. But not in this way; surely this is an attempt.... No. They had quite different goals. They didn't care about the people or about anything. It is an attempt under these slogans to make, to bring back, to restore that totalitarian regime that smothered society. And now we are paying for all these past promises. But I am firmly of a mind to move forward. I believe that people will now understand us and support us, and democrats must show how they differ from these people who wanted to set in motion tanks and weapons and everything. Democrats must be disciplined, businesslike and collected, but the law must triumph. The law must triumph also, in this case, with regard to those who acted against the people.

[Lyubimov] We hope that your new cadres will be with you.

[Gorbachev] Yes, we must now—if I may say so, the main thing about my drama was the people who surrounded me.

[Lyubimov] But it was evident, for a whole year the country....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You probably saw my own position, that at plenums I tried to keep this wing in check and support people.

[Lyubimov] Nonetheless, there were signs long ago, and there were maneuvers last August and on 20 February. Of course, democrats are not very organized people and sometimes, when there are difficulties, they allow themselves, for purely political reasons....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I believe that we have learned a great deal. I believe that a week ago this was one country, but today it is a quite different country.

[Lyubimov] Thank you.

To Brief Deputies on Putsch Aftermath

LD2508164791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] AP reports that USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today had a meeting with the country's chief reformers to discuss his speech at tomorrow's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As reported, this will be devoted to the Soviet Union's prospects for development.

Vitaliy Ignatenko, spokesman for the president, said that the speech will also provide the first full analysis of the events which took place in our country this week. It will also announce the plans worked out by Mikhail Gorbachev together with RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. As is known, the USSR president has asked Ivan Silayev to form a new government of the Soviet Union. According to Ignatenko, at tomorrow's session Mikhail Gorbachev will also make his views known about the role of Anatoliy Lukyanov, named by Ivan Silayev as the main ideologist of the putsch.

PRAVDA Reports Gorbachev News Conference

PM2508115191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "USSR President's News Conference"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev held a news conference in Moscow 22 August. Addressing journalists, he said:

In just over six years in the post of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and then as Supreme Soviet chairman and president of the country, I have had many meetings with you and other representatives of the press. There have been a few news conferences that I will remember all my life. One of them was after the Reykjavik meeting. Today's news conference is taking place after events which most of all I wish should never be repeated, and that there should never again be any similar news conferences on this topic.

We have come through... I want to be precise: Have we come through or not? We have come through the most difficult test in all the years of the reform of our society since 1985. We came up against a real—it is no exaggeration to say—anticonstitutional coup, organized by reactionary forces that were at the very heart of the leadership, alongside the president. These people, whom I promoted, believed in, and trusted, proved to be not only members, but the organizers of a conspiracy against the president, against the constitutional system, against perestroyka, against the people, against democracy.

At 1650 on 18 August the chief of the guard informed me that a group of people had come and were demanding a meeting with me. I said I was not expecting anyone, had not invited anyone, and no one had informed me about it. The chief of the guard said that he knew nothing

either. So why did you let them in? Because Plekhanov, chief of the State Security directorate of security, is with them, he replied. Otherwise the guard would not have let them in to the president. Those are the rules. Strict, but necessary.

I decided to establish who had sent them here. Because I have all kinds of communications facilities—government, ordinary, strategic, space, and so forth. I picked up one of the telephones—I was working in my office—it was not working. I picked up a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth—nothing. I picked up the internal telephone—it had been cut off. That was it. I was isolated.

I realized that this mission was not going to be the kind of mission we are used to dealing with. I summoned my wife, daughter, and son-in-law and said look, this is what has happened. I do not need any other information: I can see that it is a question of something very serious. Clearly they are either going to try blackmail, or there will be an attempt to arrest me and take me away, or something else. In fact, anything might happen. I told Raisa Maksimovna, Irina, and Anatoliy that if it comes to the main thing, the policy, the course, I will stick to my position to the end. I will not yield to any blackmail, or any threats, or any pressure, and I will not take any other decisions.

I felt I had to say that, you understand why: Everything could follow on from this. And first and foremost for my family. We know that too.

The whole family said that it must be my decision: They are prepared to share to the end whatever comes. And with that our council ended.

I went to invite the visitors in, but they had already come up to my office of their own accord—an unprecedented lack of ceremony—headed by Boldin, chief of the president's apparatus.

The president was presented with an ultimatum—hand over your powers to the vice president. I said: Before I begin to answer questions, I want to ask: "Who sent you?" "The committee," was the reply.

As M.S. Gorbachev next related to the news conference, there then ensued the following dialogue with the conspirators:

"What committee?"

"Well, the committee in connection with the emergency situation in the country."

"Who set it up? I didn't set it up, the Supreme Soviet didn't set it up. Who set it up?"

There was talk about the fact that people had already gotten together and that a decree from the president was needed. The issue was put to him thus: Either you issue a decree and remain here, or you transfer your powers to the vice president.

"In what connection do you pose the question like that?"

"The situation in the country is such—the country is sliding toward catastrophe, measures must be taken, a state of emergency is required—that other measures will no longer save us, we cannot continue to delude ourselves..."

And so on.

My reply, M.S. Gorbachev continued, was that I know better than all of them the political, economic, and social situation in the country, the position of people, their life, and all the burdens they currently bear. And that we have reached a phase where everything necessary to improve life must be done more quickly and resolutely. But I am a resolute opponent—not only from political and moral considerations—of those methods of resolving questions that have always led to people dying, in their hundreds, thousands, millions. We must renounce this forever. Otherwise everything we have begun to put into practice we will have to betray and bury. And once again agree to enter a new bloody cycle.

Therefore I said: You and those who sent you are adventurists. You will destroy yourselves—well, to hell with you, that's your fault, it's your own affair—but you will destroy the country and everything we are doing. We have now approached the signing of the treaty. Following this—a whole month we have been working—we prepared major decisions on food, fuel, and financial problems with a view to more rapidly stabilizing the political and economic situation, more rapidly developing the market processes. In order to give people more opportunity to develop themselves in all spheres of life. And then this happens after signs of agreement had emerged. Indeed, there is not enough agreement—we haven't rid ourselves of suspicions, on one side and the other. Both in relations between the republics and the center and in relations between the political and social movement [as published], all this is there. But the only way is to seek agreement. It has emerged, and we have begun to move forward. Only suicide cases can now propose to introduce a totalitarian regime in the country.

The demand was made: Resign.

I said: You will never see either one or the other from me. Tell that to all those who sent you here. You and I will have no more discussions. You can say that the president is ready immediately to sign any telegram. And we have a reason: We are signing the new Union treaty 20 August. Incidentally—this was late on Sunday—I was finishing work on my speech at that ceremony (at 1600 hours I was still exchanging opinions with Shakhnazarov, and another aide was with me—Chernyayev, but he was not present at the discussion). There we will meet with many leaders, and a Federation Council session is scheduled for 21 August: We will discuss all these questions there. We have to reach agreement on what we were unable to agree on at government level.

Those are the central questions. Decisions must be reached there, I said, and not in the way you want. What are you going to do—declare a state of emergency tomorrow? Then what? Look ahead one day, four steps—what then? The country will reject it, it will not support all these measures. You want to play on the difficulties, on the fact that the people are tired, that they are prepared to support any dictator...

Incidentally, during those very days I had been working with Comrade Chernyayev on a very long article—it was running to 32 pages. And one of the scenarios in it was this, and all at once here were the cast. My line of argument according to this scenario was that this meant ruin for society, an impasse, that it would cast society back and bury everything we now have.

I am prepared to convene the Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, since some of the leadership have doubts. Let us meet, let us discuss it. The deputies are all in their localities, they know what is happening there. Let us adopt an emergency decision, other measures. I will uphold the path of consensus, the path to the deepening of reforms and cooperation with the West, the three main avenues, we must now synchronize them and collaborate. Especially since there is a reciprocal desire by the peoples to cooperate with us now, at this decisive stage.

But it was like talking to deaf-mutes. They were obviously already ready. The machine had been set in motion—that is clear now. I said: That's all, we cannot talk any more. Report that I am categorically opposed, and that you will be defeated. But I am frightened for the people and for what we have done over the years... And so it ended.

But once they had received, in reply to their ultimatum, my own ultimatum demanding that they report my conclusions, it all began to develop according to the logic of confrontation. Total isolation by land and sea. Thirty-two people from the security guard stayed with me. They had decided to stand firm to the end, they shared out all the spheres of defense, including my family, and allocated all the places. When it became known that it had been said at the news conference that I was seriously ill and was unlikely to return to normal life, then it was clear to me that what would follow this would be that the factual side would be synchronized with that statement. The guards realized that too. And it was decided that we would not order any food and would live on what we had to hand. I was absolutely cool, although I was profoundly shaken and indignant at the political blindness and irresponsibility of these criminals. I was sure, convinced, that all this could not last all that long—it would not work.

It was 72 hours of total isolation and struggle. I think that everything was done to break the president psychologically. It was tough, what can I say...

Every day, morning and night, I put forward and conveyed demands that communications be restored and that a plane be sent immediately to allow me to fly back to work in Moscow. After the news conference I added to these demands that a refutation of the false report on the state of my health be published—a report issued by these very healthy men whose hands were shaking before you, M.S. Gorbachev said to laughter and applause from the journalists. You raised good questions, he continued, and made fun of them: It was a farce.

Everything was cut off. But the guys were smart—they found some old radios in the staff premises, rigged up some antennas, and started looking for any station. The broadcasts from the BBC and Radio Liberty sounded best. Then Voice of America appeared—at least that was what I was told when this information was given me.

M.S. Gorbachev went on to express gratitude to Soviet and foreign journalists and said that he had also done so in the appeal to the Soviet people which he had just recorded. He noted that people took a civic and responsible stance and did not collaborate. What was done was done forcibly. I know, the president said, I have been told a great deal about what happened.

I want to state here before you, M.S. Gorbachev continued, that I am really with you. You have all seen that it was not for nothing that we have been seeking ways forward for the past six years with such difficult and in such hard and painful quests. Society rejected the putschists. They were isolated. They were unable to turn the Army against the people. The Army made contact with people—and nobody could do anything. It was clear to them that they had failed.

The republics took a correct stand. And here I must pay tribute to and highlight the principled position adopted by the Russian parliament, Russian deputies, the Russian Government, and the outstanding role of Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

I must say that we should now also pay tribute to the principled position taken by Muscovites, Leningraders, and the residents of many other regions. An attempt was made to create the impression that the country was right behind them... Well, they found something out—we can find everything out in our country today.

In principle the country rejected this bloody path. I think it would be hard to find in any other way a better argument or bigger plebiscite to show the people's real position. Of all the conversations which I have had over the past few days—and I have already spoken with President Bush, President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl, Prime Ministers Major, Mulroney, Hawke, Kaifu, Andreotti, President Mubarak... Basically everyone, apart from al-Qadhdhafi, Saddam Husayn, and Rubiks. (Laughter in the auditorium)

I realize that processes in the Baltic and other republics are difficult, but not seeing that the way to solve them lies in quite a different direction would also be political

blindness. That is why I mentioned Rubiks—he was in a rush to declare that—as I was told—he supported this committee.

When it became clear, when such an implacable position was taken by Russia, its leadership, the other republics, and the people, that the Army did not move against it, they panicked and began to look for a way out.

They announced to me that a group of plotters had flown to the Crimea in the presidential plane in order to take the president to Moscow. When they arrived I said: Place them under house arrest and convey my demand that I will not talk with anyone until government communications are restored. They said this would take a long time. No matter, I said, I'm not going anywhere. (Laughter in the auditorium)

Communications were restored, and I started talking with the country. I spoke first with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I called Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, Dementey, and Karimov. I told them that I was standing here with my own garrison. (Laughter) But that's how it was: 72 hours of such terrible tension. The guards were of the opinion that they might come for us from the sea. But it transpired that the opposite was the case—sailors indicated to the president that they could save him.

M.S. Gorbachev noted that the Navy did not participate in the plotters' actions.

Then, he went on to say, I got down to it. I ordered Moiseyev to assume leadership of the Defense Ministry—he was recalled from the Crimea—and to immediately return all troops to their barracks and places of deployment. And to report that Yazov was dismissed and would be arrested.

All this was done. I found the Kremlin commandant and asked him to whom the KGB regiment was subordinated, and requested that the regiment's commander be summoned. They sent for him. I directed him by phone not to take orders from anyone apart from myself and the Kremlin commandant. He said: "Yes, sir."

Basically, I started calling around everywhere important in order to stop everything at once, because things were still dangerous. I could have bene killed en route, or anywhere. I decided not to leave.

Then I was told that a plane with an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegation was flying in. I said that I would receive them first. I contacted Minister Panyukov and Moiseyev, and said that their plane should not land at Simferopol (or it would still take them three hours to reach me) but at the military airfield. I gave orders for them to be met and for transport to be organized to bring them here. The delegation arrived, we talked and found a great deal of understanding. I think that what we had been through had given us all not just extra experience but extra understanding. That is what it means when democratic forces are united, and what it means when they are divided. After all, we can sometimes lock horns on certain issues and almost end up calling each other enemies.

We started thinking about how to move on, the president went on to say. Then I had to issue a lot more orders. Ivashko and Lukyanov arrived. They had made it without being issued with transport. I received them. I had not received the plotters and did not receive them. I did not see them, and I do not want to. We put them in different planes, brought them back, and when they got out of the plane they were all arrested and placed in isolation. I ordered the Kremlin commandant that none of those who cooperated with them be allowed into the Kremlin.

I have arranged a meeting for tomorrow of the leaders of the nine republics who drafted the treaty and prepared it for signing We will meet tomorrow and discuss everything.

There were hard lessons, very hard for me personally. Quite simply this has been a heavy trauma for me, Mikhail Sergeyevich admitted.

I think that tomorrow we will discuss, consider, and elaborate positions on the main questions of our movement forward and new steps. We should see this not just as a disaster which has befallen us but as a great opportunity opened up by these events. They have shown our people's real position. When talking with foreign leaders they all drew attention to the fact that the position of the people and the Army had shown that irreversible changes have taken place in the Union. That is why they hope that we will take advantage of all these opportunities. They all stated that they will cooperate and that they believe that this cooperation should assume a more active and resolute form. Today I received the 12 EC ambassadors. They stated their solidarity and support.

What decisions have been made? I have issued a decree...

And, incidentally, you know that, the way things looked, they could have killed me or done whatever they liked to me, my family, and everyone who was with me, and make out that the president had taken a certain position and that, moreover, they were acting on his behalf. That is why all this admittedly primitive and crude perfidy became clear to me at the news conference—as one of the comrades from the Russian Federation said to me, they could not even do that properly, and much else besides.

I decided to immediately make a video. I made four recordings, the children—Irina and Anatoliy—cut them into four sections, and we started looking for channels, for people we could entrust the tape to.

The president showed it to the journalists. This is one of them, he said, I'm giving it to Ignatenko for him to watch it. The others may turn up because they have disappeared. The doctor recorded his opinion on several copies, and we handed them out and distributed them so

that everyone could know the true state of the president's health. I finally typed up the first four paragraphs, then added something by hand, so that people could see that I was writing, and signed my statement.

The first paragraph stated that Yanayev's assumption of the presidency on the pretext of my illness and inability to perform my duties was a deception of the people and, consequently, could not be described as anything but a coup d'etat.

Second, this means that all subsequent actions were illegal and unlawful: Neither the president nor the Congress of People's Deputies had given Yanayev these powers.

Third, I asked for my demand to be conveyed to Lukyanov requesting the urgent convening of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies to examining the situation, since they and they alone, having examined the situation, are entitled to decide the question of the necessary state measures and the mechanism for implementing them.

Fourth, I demanded that the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] be suspended pending the adoption of the aforesaid decisions by the Supreme Soviet or Congress of People's Deputies. The continuation of these actions or a further escalation of the measures taken by the SCSE could result in a tragedy for all the peoples, could exacerbate the situation still further, if not entirely destroy the beginnings of coordinated work between the center and the republics to find a way out of the crisis.

I demanded a reply. I was told to wait and that one would be forthcoming. Initially there was no response at all, then I was told that there would be a reply. But none came. That was the situation. The most important thing now is that decisions have to be made. I have rescinded all the decisions of the vice president, the Committee, and the cabinet during the past few days. By dint of the authority vested in me I have dismissed them and relieved them of their duties. Matters which need to be decided by the Supreme Soviet have been submitted for its examination. The USSR Prosecutor has told me that he instituted criminal proceedings yesterday, and we have agreed that the investigation team should be made up of investigators from the USSR and the RSFSR. Temporary decisions have been taken also in those spheres where it is simply impossible to discard such services for a single day. Tomorrow when we meet with the leaders of the republics we will start thinking about the disposition of forces, not least in order to ensure the effectiveness of power and increased coordination of actions. We must not lose time. The program is in place, we must move forward and solve our problems. That is the main thing.

A flurry of raised hands showed how many questions the press had for the Soviet president. One of the first boiled down to the following: Why was the head of state surrounded by people capable of mutiny?

We should never forget the society in which reform is under way—and on such a scale, with such depth and scope, M.S. Gorbachev said. This is a feature of our country. What has happened in it over decades and even centuries dictates not only the pace and depth of reform but also the ways and means of solving the tasks we have chosen. I will state bluntly that initially, before we had developed public opinion and a democratic atmosphere in the country, this kind of coup could have succeeded. My task for all these years has been to pursue, preserve, and save this political course.

Recently the situation has changed fundamentally. First, following the 19th All-Union Party Conference, profound democratic processes were set in train and a different atmosphere was created. Then there were the elections and, of course, glasnost. And, of course, the press (despite all the bias and lack of balance which is and has been visible over the past few days). Yesterday, incidentally, I was contacted by a group of journalists from the Russian Journalists' Union. I said: You know, we all need to be very attentive, there are lessons for us all to learn. I said that people had exploited the opportunity, the acuteness of the situation, and sometimes the unceremoniousness prevalent in the newspapers which would claim that "these people are taking over," and frighten the people. That there is creeping dictatorship coming from one direction and another kind of dictatorship from the other.

After a brief analysis of the disposition of political forces in society at the various stages of perestroyka, the president continued his reply: We have now reached a decisive stage of change. Power is changing, ownership relations are changing, the federation is changing. The signing of the new Union treaty was at hand. And it was no accident that what was done happened on the eve of its signing. Hence the acuteness of the clashes. We all need to realize this and learn our lessons from what happened.

In this situation everyone was in a hurry—both the supporters and the opponents of change. Various approaches and options not only emerged but were publicly advanced. Cries of "Down With the President!" were even heard at the Congress of People's Deputies. There were also calls for some kind of "public salvation committee" to be set up. There is nothing new in that.

I saw my task as being to preserve the course of perestroyka. For the first time in this country's history we were striving to resolve everything without spilling blood, on the basis of consensus. I am convinced of this and will stand by it until the end!

The USSR president was asked about his attitude toward the decrees and resolutions issued by Russian President B.N. Yeltsin and adopted at the emergency RSFSR Supreme Soviet session during the crisis.

I believe that in this situation the Russians acted on the basis of the highest interests. What they adopted was dictated by the situation, M.S. Gorbachev replied.

The journalists asked the president to state his personal attitude toward the organizers of the putsch.

I have already said that what happened has been a lesson for me too, M.S. Gorbachev replied. In particular, I can see that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies was right when it initially refused to elect the vice president, but I insisted on it. That was my mistake, and not my only mistake. I can see that now. I would also say quite frankly that I particularly trusted Yazov and Kryuchkov.

"How have you yourself and your behavior changed in the wake of all this?" one of those present asked.

My conclusion, M.S. Gorbachev said, is to resolutely push ahead with reform. This will require a regrouping of forces. This must be done forthwith. Otherwise there will be no coordinated actions and we will fail to advance the reforms.

One question was about the CPSU's position during the crisis. The journalist who asked it believed that the party had no right to sit on the fence and keep its own counsel at a time of crisis. Is such a political animal in keeping with the demands of the time?

I think that this is one of the most important questions, the president stated. This is a reality which we have to see, grasp, and understand. I see it as my duty and will do everything in my power to drive reactionary forces out of the CPSU. On the basis of the CPSU's new program I believe that there is a chance to unite all that is progressive, most positive, and thoughtful in the party. That is why I disagree when people talk about the party as a whole as a reactionary force. I know thousands of party members—they are real democrats who support perestroyka and our struggle. And they will not give up or be prevailed upon. This should be clearly indicated by the new CPSU Program. I will never agree to the program being arranged to suit those who hanker after the past. So we must do everything to ensure that the party reforms itself and becomes a living force for perestroyka. As for the position of Communists—not least as regards what has happened—with the exception of some committees they dissociated themselves from events, particular rank-and-file Communists.

Talking about the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat's position, M.S. Gorbachev said that the leadership had started to rush hither and thither. But, under the influence of healthy forces, the Secretariat ultimately made the right decision. Mikhail Sergeyevich had learned that two people stated that they were leaving the Politburo because they disagreed with the fact that the Politburo and the Secretariat had failed to support the demand to back the emergency committee measures. I have been told, M.S. Gorbachev continued, that these two were Shenin and Prokofyev. But, on the other hand, there were people there who fought to demand an immediate meeting. That was the position of Ivashko and Dzasokhov, and particularly of Kuptsov and others. Ultimately this demand was submitted and they got through to the general secretary in the Crimea.

A foreign reporter asked: Who now has more power—the Soviet or the Russian president?

I wouldn't put it like that, M.S. Gorbachev explained. Over the past few months Boris Nikolayevich and I have been doing everything to ensure that our agreement and cooperation with him becomes a permanent factor in uniting all democratic forces together with all the republics. This has been shown by the past few days. Let's think about this. Some people are trying to disrupt this position, but we have been toughened up by the situation, we do actually know who's who.

Apart from political questions, there was a "purely personal" question: How did Raisa Maksimovna and the members of your family get through these three awful days with you?

My granddaughter Anastasiya came through it best, Mikhail Sergeyevich said. She didn't understand anything and ran about asking to be taken to the seaside... And she was. But on the last days the guards told us not to. Because anything could have happened. So we dug in and shut up shop, as it were. All this was tough on Raisa Maksimovna and my daughter. Raisa Maksimovna was in a bad way yesterday, but that seems to have passed.

There were more questions. People wanted to know what motivated the plotters?

They were the leaders of that section of society which doesn't want change and is scared of change, the president said. We have a systemic crisis in our country, but we are emerging from it.

One of the news conference participants expressed fears that such "scenarios" could be continued. In this connection the particular question was raised of the place and role of the president's bodyguard in the structure of the USSR KGB, the position of the mass media, and their real level of freedom.

As for my bodyguard, I do not consider this matter important enough to be dealt with now, at this busy time. In general, my mind is at ease about it. There may be a reason to consider this issue, but I do not consider it the main problem at the moment.

The question of the role of the mass media is more important. In general, I can see no approach other than to preserve the democratic gains in this direction. Without this, I think, we would not have seen our people act the way they did over the past few days—blocking the way to dictatorship—had not the democratic press spoken out so vigorously alongside the people. I want you, too, to think about the lessons of these events.

We need a political culture in which constructive political dialogue is possible. I advocate such a dialogue. However, I cannot accept the high-handedness and tactlessness sometimes evident in the mass media. I cannot abide it when the press is rude about people. Particularly if these people have different opinions. What kind of pluralism is that! High standards and responsibility will

not harm political movements, the political struggle, or the press itself. I am convinced that cogent arguments have the greatest impact. I value them even when I don't share the author's views, the president stressed. We need analysis, not political waffle.

One question concerned A.N. Yakovlev's resignation from the CPSU.

While I was on vacation I learned from the press how the Central Control Commission had decided the question of Yakovlev, M.S. Gorbachev replied. This shows yet again that the fight to renew the party itself will indeed be tough. After all, they did not even speak with A.N. Yakovlev. This means that the party is approaching things abnormally. This has to be said.

But even Aleksandr Nikolayevich himself was too hasty, I think. He told me he will fight to the end for the reform of the party. I regret that forces are leaving which ought to be making their contribution to the reform of the party. I see my own role in this and I don't intend to yield my position. I will hold that position. But I will not make any concessions on matters of principle. These were manifested in the draft of the new CPSU Program. I will fight to the finish for the party's renewal. But as far as I am concerned there are no obstacles to meetings and conversations with A.N. Yakovlev. This is even more the case regarding meetings with those with whom I've spent a great deal of time together.

"The Russian parliament names A. I. Lukyanov as one of the ideologues of the abortive coup. How do you assess his role?" the president was asked.

I have spoken with him, M.S. Gorbachev replied. He told me of the actions, the steps which were taken in the given situation. I took note of all these statements. I believe that we all must tell each other everything, that we must dot all the "i's." We cannot permit the reemergence within the country's leadership of a situation like the present one. It is capable of pushing society to catastrophe.

So now, when I talk of a regrouping of forces, it is necessary to move up those forces which are utterly dedicated to the course of transformations and will fight for this. I believe that all the positions will be discussed both in the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the Congress of People's Deputies. And that applies to A.I. Lukyanov's position too: We must examine what in his position is consistent [tsepnnoy] and constructive and what is unacceptable. We must hear what he has to say for himself.

The next question again concerns the situation within the CPSU. Might the conservative forces in it triumph; is the departure from it of M.S. Gorbachev himself a possibility, in the event that the renewal of the party does not materialize.

I am one of those people who have never concealed their position, the president reminded his audience. I am a convinced adherent of the socialist idea. This idea has been blazing a trail for many centuries. It has many supporters, they have headed the governments of several states. There are different branches of the socialist movement, because it is not a model, not a shoemaker's last on which society must be fitted. No, this is an idea—an idea, precisely—which incorporates values elaborated during the quest for a more just society and a better world. This is an idea which also feeds on many achievements of Christianity and other philosophical currents. I speak as a democrat inasmuch as there cannot be a socialist idea without democracy, without the correct and reliable solution of social issues. Speaking on this theme, one should not address only what the realization of the Stalinist model of the organization of society led to. What relationship does this have to the socialist idea?

Sometimes therefore the question is asked: Was the October Revolution a catastrophe or a true revolution nonetheless? I understand why such a question arises. Because the historical results on which the people who made this revolution were counting failed to materialize. But we are not talking about the results of the realization of the ideas of October, of a genuinely popular revolution. These were the results of the forcible imposition of the Stalinist model of society's organization. So we must not, we ought not to confuse one with the other. Therefore I consciously occupy my chosen position. The ideas of socialization are present in many other social currents. As for my own views, I am a man of principle. I am not merely a weather vane. During all these years I have done everything to put an end to Stalinism. If we don't accomplish this, there is no way we can think of realizing the socialist idea. I recall the Leninist tenet that socialism is the living creativity of the masses. And this is the negation of any model. In each country people themselves must create their life. And we must augment and develop the processes of democratization in all spheres. I believe this is everything—the movement toward greater justice in respect of the individual, the assertion of the individual's rights and freedoms, the rights and freedoms of peoples. This is indeed movement toward the realization of the socialist idea. Such is my understanding of the problem.

One of the journalists asked anxiously: But don't the roots of the abortive coup remain in society and the country? They must be fought against resolutely.

I don't believe, M.S. Gorbachev replied, that after all that has happened we should organize a witch-hunt, that we should act as they acted in olden times. No. Within the framework of democracy and glasnost and of the movement toward a rule-of-law state we must resolve everything on the basis of the law. Therefore, when I was told today that, following the rally, columns of marchers moved off in the direction of Staraya Ploshchad [location of CPSU Central Committee premises] and the KGB building, we pooled efforts to ensure that everything was done to prevent any dangerous incidents: That would be a great gift to reaction. Everything must be done only within the framework of the law and legality.

Now we need to be very attentive, to hold our nerve, not to yield to provocation. A great deal of hard work lies ahead for each of us. Above all, everything must be done to improve people's lives. This is the main thing right now.

There followed another series of questions the aim of which was to clarify the president's attitude toward the recent statements and actions by E.A. Shevardnadze, and also of a number of initiators of the putsch. The USSR president again had to touch on the sudden upheavals in complex human relationships, the clashes and the dramas in conditions of a most acute struggle to renew the life of society and the country. For me personally everything that took place was a difficult ordeal, M.S. Gorbachev admitted. Despite the fact that the president had now spent exactly 100 hours in a state of extreme physical and nervous tension, he found within himself the strength also to answer many other questions put to him outside the framework of the news conference.

Post-Conference Remarks on Baltics

PM2308185991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by M. Yusin from USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center 22 August: "Immediately After the News Conference"]

[Text] Immediately after the news conference ended a group of journalists forced their way to the stage and asked the president several questions. First—about the Baltic region. The voices of an IZVESTIYA correspondent and a foreign colleague merged into one: "When will the troops leave the Baltic region?", "Will you now change your attitude to the Baltic events?"

Gorbachev went up to the journalists and asked in astonishment: "You think that I should change my attitude?" "Yes, you should," the voices were heard. The president started talking of the need to observe the constitutional process and to solve disputed issues through talks. Then with condemnation he mentioned the introduction of "identity cards" in the Baltic republics. (The journalists later confessed that they did not understand what this has to do with the current situation). Cries from the audience were heard: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, the Baltic region was with you these past days," "They have earned their freedom..." However, you got the impression that Gorbachev still did not realize that after what happened the Baltic region could not be talked about in the same way as before, and that it was all the more impermissible to act in the same way as before in relation to it.

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked the next question: "Not once did you mention Mutalibov's position at the news conference..." Gorbachev took another two steps toward the journalists and asked: "What position? I do not know anything..." "It was reported that he was the only one of the 15 (republic leaders) to dissociate himself from you." "I did not know that," Gorbachev repeated. "Very well, I will find out."

Marshal Akhromeyev Commits Suicide

LD2508122491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1209 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow 25 Aug (TASS)—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev committed suicide yesterday. Confirmation of this was given today to the TASS correspondent at the group of inspectors-general of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Sergey Akhromeyev occupied a number of leading posts in the Defense Ministry system, was chief of general staff of the USSR Defense Ministry, and then became one of the USSR president's advisers.

Leaves Suicide Note

LD2508170191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] It became known today that, Sergey Akhromeyev, Marshal of the Soviet Union and personal adviser to the USSR President on military issues, hanged himself in his office in the Kremlin on Saturday. Investigators have discovered a note written before his death in which the marshall wrote that everything, to the construction of which he devoted his life, is collapsing in the country now. An investigation is being carried out.

Central Committee Administrator Commits Suicide

LD2608082891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0744 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Aug (TASS)—Nikolay Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator [upravlyayushchiy delami], committed suicide. This was just reported to your TASS correspondent by reliable sources.

KGB First Deputy Chairman Grushko Arrested

LD2508190191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—Viktor Grushko, first deputy chairman of the KGB, has been detained on suspicion of involvement in the coup d'etat on 19 August. This was reported on the central television program "Vremya", which referred to information from the USSR Procuracy.

Coup Leaders Interviewed in Detention

Kryuchkov Interviewed

LD2408003191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2011 GMT 23 aug 91

[Interview with former KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov by correspondent Vladimir Molchanov; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Molchanov] What can you say about your conditions of detention here? Is any pressure being put upon you?

[Kryuchkov] Well, as you can see, the conditons of detention are not bad: one could have expected something considerably worse. No negative pressure is being exerted upon me. Intensive talks are under way, if one can describe them like that, and there are interrogations, too. I am trying to be objective, in general, and I answer the questions I am asked just as everything actually happened. Well, I should of course like objectivity to be preserved in all respects in the work—so that the questions I am asked are indeed questions; and answers, answers. I mean that neither one nor the other should be subject to any preconceived designs.

I have one wish: I wrote a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today, and asked the procurator general of the Russian Federation to send the letter to the addressee. I should say that I have a profound respect for Mikhail Sergeyevich and I would like him to know what I am thinking now. I think this letter may be useful in all respects, not just for me but for my other comrades who are today deprived of their liberty. It seems to me such a letter to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is in all respects well-founded.

[Molchanov] Less than 24 hours has passed since you were detained. What do you regret now?

[Kryuchkov] What do I regret? Well, firstly, I should say that in my heart, in my soul, all my various feelings and emotions, I am re-experiencing everything that has happened, I remember my life, my career, and I have been going down the same road as I did in my career, probably. It seems to me that I did nothing with my life for which the motherland could have any grievance against me. But if, for example, I were able to turn the video-camera back, so that I returned to five or six days ago, I would behave completely differently; and then I would not be sitting here in detention now. I hope that the investigation will be unprejudiced and that those who are entrusted to administer justice and [words indistinct] investigate the case, and that taking everything into account, the optimum final result will be reached, which will allow me further to work at liberty and to be of use to my fatherland, which is everything for me.

[Molchanov] Thank you for agreeing to grant us an interview.

[Kryuchkov] Thank you. Success and all the best to you. If you had a newspaper with you to give me to read, I could answer a few more questions. Do you have any newspapers with you?

[Molchanov] I'm sorry, I've no newspaper on me.

[Kryuchkov] Well, I didn't know that; otherwise I would only have answered one question.

[Molchanov] Thank you, anyway. [video shows Molchanov and Kryuchkov sitting on a divan in a room furnished with an armchair, lamp, and a large low table; curtains drawn; uniformed man standing by]

Yazov Interviewed

LD2308224591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2011 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Interview with former USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov by correspondent Molchanov on 22 August; place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Molchanov] Today is 22 August; it is 2145. We are at the place where Kryuchkov, former chairman of the Ccommittee for State Security, and former USSR Defense Minister Yazov are detained in custody. We do not have the right to name this place and we will now discover whether they will agree to give us an interview.

Marshal Yazov refused to appear before the television camera, which is why you will now only hear his voice.

Tell us, have you been under any kind of pressure during the time in which you have been imprisoned?

[Yazov] I have been here for less than 24 hours. No one is exerting any kind of pressure on me. The testimonies which had to be given and the answers to questions, I have done this quite consciously, and I very much regret what happened. In the final analysis, it brings shame on the Armed Forces and I, as the person responsible for the Armed Forces, am responsible for what occurred.

[Molchanov] What do you think awaits you in the future?

[Yazov] I cannot guess now what awaits me in the future. I do not think that I will receive any thanks now.

[Molchanov] Thank you.

[Yazov] All the best.

[Video shows Molchanov in the hallway of an unidentified building, addressing the camera before the interview; cut to video of Molchanov in a small room, with twin beds; Molchanov is seated on a chair opposite a man seated on one of the beds; only the legs of the interviewee, clothed in army uniform trousers, are visible; another man, dressed in a suit, is behind Molchanov, holding a second microphone]

Starodubtsev, Pavlov Interviewed

LD2408231691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interviews with Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev and Valentin Pavlov, former members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, by "Vesti" announcer Aleksandr Burnov on 23 August at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procuracy; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Three hours ago we promised to show you some video on the arrest of Pavlov and Starodubtsev, former members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, [SCSE].

[Begin recording] [Video shows the outside of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procuracy, cutting to an interview with Starodubtsev in a room inside. He is dressed in a suit, and an official is telling him about the decision to arrest him and subsequent legal procedures. Starodubtsev reads the documents, and the official asks him to sign that he has read the documents. Starodubtsev asks that the union procuracy investigate his case. The official says it is the Russian Procuracy that handles the case, to which Starodubtsev says: "There is another matter. I have a conflict, you could say, with the Russian leadership." Starodubtsev eventually signs the document and leaves the room. The following interview then takes place]

[Burnov] You just said, in signing the document, that you don't consider yourself a criminal. Tell me, do you think that what happened in the country over the last three days, the three days of the coup, was a crime?

[Starodubtsev] Now I understand that this is so.

[Burnov] That is, in saying that you're not a criminal, you don't consider yourself an accomplice?

[Starodubtsev] Absolutely not.

[Burnov] Then I'd like to repeat a question that was put to you at the news conference by Bovin. How, then, did you find yourself among this company?

[Starodubtsev] Well, my reply was absolute. That can rehabilitate me on this. I said that by decree of the president I was included on this list and I was bound by presidential decree to join this. The next thing that caught me off guard was that these were practically all people from the Defense Council, with the exception of Mikhail Sergeyevich, that is, his immediate entourage, and I had no doubts about anything. And now there are many problems that have to be assessed.

[Burnov] You say that you were included on the SCSE list by presidential decree?

[Starodubtsev] Yes.

[Burnov] The president of the country?

[Starodubtsev] No, the vice president.

[Burnov] And a second question: How are you feeling? How are your conditions at present?

[Starodubtsev] I feel ok.

[Burnov] Do you have any complaints about the way you are being treated?

[Starodubtsev] There are no problems for the moment.

[Video shows Pavlov and an unidentified man in an office. Pavlov and man discuss terms of arrest. Pavlov says he assumed that he was a suspect but not the accused. The man answers that Pavlov should be charged within 10 days. If not, he will then be released. Then Pavlov insists that his wife should be informed about what has happened and asks the man to call her. A brief exchange follows about the telephone number and the time of the call, since the conversation filmed took place at midnight. Then the scene switches to a poorly lit corridor with Pavlov standing under the light]

[Burnov] As a journalist, of course I have no right to ask you about the degree of your participation in what happened. But if you agree, could you answer a more personal question. What is your view? Why do you think the coup failed. What is the main reason?

[Pavlov] It is generally very hard to say what the main reason is. My view is that many people misplaced their worries. They were carried away by a game known just to them. Most people were sincerely convinced that they worked for the benefit of the good, and they did not intend to let themselves get involved in.

[Burnov] So you think it is a matter of people?

[Pavlov] Yes, the whole thing is about people.

[Burnov] You mean the people who were on your side?

[Pavlov] Yes, they were, effectively, because the situation was very simple. [sentence as heard] I think nearly all those who were present or even members of the committee didn't understand what was involved. Incidentally, extraordinary and emergency measures had been discussed before, in the spring, for instance. The question of applying emergency measures to stabilize the situation came up all the time after all. So there was nothing new about that. But, when the issue was raised of the president having been ill, and no one could give us any intelligent explanation as to what was wrong with him and how ill he was [changes thought] there was talk that he couldn't... [changes thought] then everyone began to have doubts at once [word indistinct] whether the whole affair should be delegated to the Supreme Soviet, and postponed. And because of two days... [changes thought] and Yanayev didn't want to sign anything for a very long time because he had thought and said this to us: Gentlemen, he said, I don't really know whether to put down that he is ill or not. I cannot know about his illness for certain. I just heard about it from someone

else. So the others simply said to him: It's up to you to make the decision. You've got to decide for yourself after all.

[Burnov] So, who prompted his decision?

[Pavlov] It's hard for me to say who prompted him. The only thing I can tell you is that I heard on television that Gorbachev had agreed to call the Supreme Soviet and the Congress. So, they should have been convened. Then, the whole question would not have existed. But, for some reason, he moved in a different direction and first the Supreme Soviet wanted to sit on 16 August. Then, when Gorbachev put pressure on them, urging them to get together before the 16th, then he [not further identified] agreed to call the session on the 26th. So, he had been asked to convene the session before the 16th, but he said that he could not do it any earlier because it had not been technically possible. And then everything was very simple.

If Yanayev made his decision before the Supreme Soviet session, then everyone else had to follow suit. It was not possible for the others not to sign the decision because chaos would then have begun in our state. You can imagine for yourselves. Just think if the prime minister refuses to sign something that the vice president does sign. Something terrible would have followed the next day. The issue hinged on this very basic but crucial matter. But, that was essentially the moment when the committee became split and divided. The actual membership of the committee had not been discussed anyway. The situation was a little strange. Bessmertnykh became ill right away I think. I was taken to the hospital from there.

[Burnov] Did you expect the end to be like this?

[Pavlov] No, I didn't think that things would work out this way. If someone hadn't foolishly decided to bring tanks into the city then nothing would have happened. I generally believed that nothing would have happened. [end recording]

Moiseyev Allegedly Ordered Communications Seized

LD2308192491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] You have of course noticed the president's announcement of new appointments. In particular, Shaposhnikov has been appointed USSR defense Minister in place of Moiseyev, he was named yesterday as acting holder of that post.

It has become known that Mikhail Moiseyev supported the emergency committee. Completely secret documents relating to the putsch have been passed to "IZVESTIYA" correspondent Reznik. Mikhail Moiseyev sent an order to the deputy defense minister, the commanders in chief of (?sector) and Far East troops [voyska napraveleniya i dalnogo vostoka], the commanders of the military okrugs and fleets, the commanders of paratroops, and the chiefs of the main and central directorates of the Defense Ministry. He ordered them to "make maximum use of all means and methods to explain the correctness of the measures being taken by the emergency committee. In order to close off the channels of information and agitation against the measures being taken by the emergency committee, it was ordered to take account of and, as necessary, guard all technical equipment for the transmission of information, regardless of the departments to which they belong: television, radio, broadcasting stations, communications of the USSR Ministry of Railways, the weather service, traffic control points on the subway, taxi stands, and other sites.

Generals Involved in Coup Reportedly Met 24 Aug

LD2508125491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] According to reports received by the Russian Information Agency from reliable sources, on the morning of 24 August the chief commander of the country's air defense troops, Army General Ivan Tretyak, held a conference in which Chief of the Air Defense General Staff Colonel General Maltsev took part. The latter was one of the organizers of President Gorbachev's blockade in the Crimea. Generals Boyko and Timokhin and other military commanders also took part in the conference. More than half of those present are suspected in organizing last week's putsch.

Defense Ministry Collegium Denies Role in Coup

LD2408012591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2209 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By correspondent Nikolay Ivanov from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The military held a news conference today, where it was claimed that members of the Ministry of Defense collegium did not even suspect the decision by the mutinous Yazov to become a member of the notorious committee. Journalists were naturally interested in what the collegium had done prior to and during the coup. We have already become used to sudden illnesses and some leaders of the country receiving their information through radio reports. The military have, so to speak, other reasons. Nearly all the Soviet generals, it turns out, were on leave on the day of the putsch, and the generals got back to their ministry after the self-proclaimed leaders had started to function. [video shows three military officers, including Deputy Defense Minister Yuriy Yashin, addressing journalists]

[Begin recording] [Ivanov, at news conference] Nikolay Ivanov, Television News Service. Would you say what guarantees there are that something akin to what occurred will not be repeated and that a new general will not appear?

[Yashin] It was not the Armed Forces that strove for a coup. It was not the Armed Forces but soldiers. Indeed, for us near the very top, we did not know about it. [end recording]

On Yazov's directions, the operation in Moscow was prepared by the headquarters of the Moscow military district. Deputy Defense Minister Yashin displayed a map with a plan for the seizure of Moscow. There are serious doubts about its genuineness, since quite unlike special maps it is not marked "secret" and it obviously reminds one of normal geographical plans of the city. The Army general considers that it was precisely the Army that has been safeguarding the holding of rallies and demonstrations, and that with its departure disturbances have begun, he claims. The only example cited by the general was the destruction of the Dzerzhinskiy Monument, which he assessed as vandalism. [video shows Yashin displaying documents and a map to journalists]

It is scarcely possible to agree with the claims in the statement of the military that the subunits and units did not permit actions complicating the situation. At whose hand, then, did peaceful citizens die? And tanks on the streets of Moscow—was that not in itself a complication of the situation?

Many journalists considered the statement issued by the Defense Ministry collegium as an attempt to justify the top military elite and to shift the blame for the actions of the Army during the putsch on middle and lower-ranking command personnel. [video shows tanks on the streets of Moscow during coup attempt]

Coup Leaders Controlled Nuclear Warhead Codes

LD2308174691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] According to a TASS report, a Russian Parliamentary deputy, Vladimir Lysenko, has told a WASHINGTON POST newspaper correspondent in an interview, that the organizers of the coup seized a special document case at Mikhail Gorbachev's residence in the Crimea, containing the codes for arming warheads and launching Soviet nuclear missiles. Thus, for those three days, the stability of the whole world was in the hands of people whom Gorbachev has described as adventurists, and Yeltsin—as scoundrels.

Lukyanov Allegedly Says Gorbachev Sanctioned Coup

PM2308191191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[By Vladimir Sluzhakov: "Anatoliy Lukyanov: Gorbachev Felt Ill But Sanctioned the Coup"]

[Text] The first day's sitting of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's Extraordinary Session had barely ended in the barricaded building of the White House before USSR People's Deputy Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Science and Industry Union, held a news conference. In his statement he condemned the anticonstitutional actions of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Also present at the news conference were Yevgeniy Primakov and Vadim Bakatin, who right after the coup issued a statement confirming Gorbachev's removal. This gave Sergey Stankevich an opportunity to tell the defenders of the White House the details of the USSR president's forced isolation 20 August. Georgiy Shakhnazarov, aide to the USSR president, was also present at the news conference.

[Bakatin] For 48 hours we tried to contact the USSR president. And, thanks to B. Yeltsin's firm position, this was possible. It is important that deputies at the USSR Supreme Soviet session not let themselves be persuaded and that they countermand all the lawlessness that is developing in our country.

[Shakhnazarov] I was vacationing in a rest home close to Mikhail Sergeyevich, and we had several telephone conversations. The last conversation was at 1600 on 18 August. After this, communications were cut off, and none of the telephones worked any more. True, the next day Primakov and I returned to Moscow with no difficulty.

[Volskiy] There was not a single day when I and the two members of the USSR Security Council seated here did not meet with members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. And this was the chief point of our work, through last night, after the grave news from the Russian Government and Parliament. We used all means to prevent bloodshed at all costs.

[Unidentified Questioner] On 20 August a group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies met with Lukyanov, who stated literally the following: Gorbachev knew about and sanctioned what is now happening in the counry.

[Volskiy] That is lies and nonsense.

[Unidentified Questioner] Comrade Lukyanov's?

[Volskiy] I do not know, I think that this is the deputy's fantasy. It is a deliberate piece of sensationalism that Gorbachev knew everything. I can imagine who started it. Indeed on 18 August Mikhail Gorbachev was with future members of the State Comittee for the State of Emergency, who demanded that he sign a law on the state of emergency, which he refused to do.

[A. Vladislavlev—vice president of the USSR Scientific Industrial Union] On my initiative a group of deputies representing the economy and production did act. On 20 August they met with Lukyanov. He was very evasive regarding the events and dissociated himself from them all the time and said that in general Mikhail Sergeyevich's position was very complex. [Vladislavlev ends]

Since the information about A. Lukyanov's attitude to the coup is contradictory, I consider it essential to print some excerpts from a conversation with Oleg Borodin, USSR people's deputy and participant in a meeting with A. Lukyanov which was recorded at the White House on the night of 20 August. According to Lukyanov, he met with Gorbachev for the last time 13 August. Gorbachev allegedly felt very bad: blood pressure, heart... But the main thing is that Gorbachev knew everything, and everything had been agreed with him. He knew about the measures which the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency were taking. In point of fact everything was happening on Gorbachev's say-so and was sanctioned by him. Apart from me, the deputy said, there were another 10 people—Chelyshev, Volkov, and others. For me it was very important to ascertain whether Gorbachev knew... We submitted—the deputy went on—a prepared Presidium decision. We entitled it "On the Aggravation of the Situation in the Country Owing to the Introduction of the State of Emergency by an Illegally Created Committee." Lukyanov actually leaped up and said that we were not entitled to claim that it was an illegally created committee. He maintained that it was a legally created committee and that there are situations when it is necessary to act precisely in this way, and this is precisely that situation. But the Supreme Soviet should decide everything by a two-thirds vote. We submitted—the deputy said—that the very creation of the committee was anticonstitutional. Consequently, none of its decisions should be considered. He, however, insisted that it was necessary to examine its decision...

In answer to one question, A. Volskiy also said that he did not think that the danger was already over. Judging by many reports, a considerable section of party functionaries, almost one-third of the leaders of the regions, supported the putschists. Now, however, they again want to become the friends of perestroyka and are attempting in every possible way to isolate themselves from what has happened. Supposing we were again to fall into their tender, stifling embrace.

Katushev Comments on 19 Aug Cabinet Meeting

LD2408224191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Interview with Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, by an unidentified reporter on 24 August; place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] [passage omitted] Today's meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers was supposed to clarify the situation concerning the involvement of the ministries in the attempted coup d'etat. After it ended we met one of the participants, Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, previously an official in the party apparatus and a diplomat.

Was a decision made today that the Cabinet is resigning?

[Katushev] Evidently, I'll give you a diplomatic reply. Today, we know that President Gorbachev will keep his word.

[Reporter] At the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers on that Monday [19 August] you said the collective supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. Is that so?

[Katushev] That does not tally with the real state of affairs. The following morning the same members of the collegium met. We condemned this anti-state plot and we cancelled, annulled the decision that had been made as a decision that did not correspond to reality. I have to say that during these days, from the 19th to 22d, we did not receive and did not carry out any instructions from the SCSE.

[Reporter] But how will your fate develop; what do you think?

[Katushev] I'll retire on pension.

General Reviews 19 Aug Events at Crimean Airport

LD2508135591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0919 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Interview with Colonel General Igor Mikhaylovich Maltsev, chief of the main staff of Air Defense Troops and Air Force, by correspondent Vyacheslav Rusinov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Here is a recording of an interview between our correspondent Vyacheslav Rusinov and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputy Igor Mikhaylovich Maltsev, chief of the main staff of Air Defense Troops, and Air Force colonel general. I think this conversation will shed light on what happened at the military airport near the residence of the country's president on August 19 this year. So here is the recording.

[Rusinov] Igor Mikhaylovich, what can you say regarding the allegations that you tried to prevent the takeoff of the Tu-134 aircraft and the Mi-8 helicopter from the Belbek airport?

[Maltsev] Before I answer your question, I would like to express my profound gratitude to All-Union Radio for the opportunity they have given me to address radio listeners. This is why: At the press office of the Defense Ministry, an official denial of the speculations about some sort of special role played by the Air Defense Troops in the events that took place in our country has been idly lying around for two days now. Nor has any action been taken for two days now on the answers by the chief commander of the air defense troops to questions from a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, and my own answers in my capacity as chief of the main staff.

Now in reply to your question, I wish to say that on 19 August the aircraft of the USSR president was absent from the airport in the Crimea. Waiting on the ground

were the Tu-134 aircraft, which is a special communications point, and the Mi-8 helicopter, whose takeoff can only be sanctioned by the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. I must explain that the Tu-134 is not just a communication point, but this aircraft serves the command of the Armed Forces during special times. Naturally, there are special regulations for the guarding of this aircraft.

In any situation, the means of protecting the USSR president include the following rule: access to the president can only be obtained through special bodies. But our task is just to reinforce the guarding of the airport and these sites. All this is laid down in the provisions on the organization of flights to [word indistinct] by civil aviation, which are signed by the KGB chief and the Air Force chief commanders, and which function on the basis of Order No. 050 by the minister of civil aviation. The crews were resting before noon in the dispensary. Then they arrived at the airport. They were given permission to take off by the general staff, and at 1938 the aircraft took off to Vnukovo Airport. The helicopter flew to the Simferopol airport without any hindrance from the Air Force troops.

Therefore the allegations that at 0400 in the morning Colonel General Maltsev ordered obstructions to be erected on the runway are not true, to put it mildly.

Second, I would like to say this: I was told at the general staff that some unidentified people had tried to get into the Tu-134 and the government communication building. Naturally, I gave appropriate orders to the general of the central communications point who was on duty.

[Rusinov] In other words, Igor Mikhaylovich, the junta demanded that the aircraft be placed at it disposal.

[Maltsev] I do not really know. I received orders from the general staff to reinforce the guarding of this aircraft, because this is an aircraft of special importance. To avoid any incidents, troubles, or even tragic consequences, the aircraft was called off to Moscow.

[Rusinov] So it is possible that preparations were being made to seize the presidential residence.

[Maltsev] It is hard to say. The fact is that the airport is on the border. It is near the border. During this time intelligence in the USSR airspace was reinforced, and duty was rather hectic. Suffice it to say that in the Baltic alone, there were five aircraft for intelligence purposes at the time, although usually just one or two aircraft are used for these purposes. My task during this period was to ensure the vigilance of the troops on duty in their protection of the country's airspace and the monitoring of that airspace. Personnel were moved to a reinforced guard regime in fulfilling the combat task facing the Air Defense Troops. Not a single air defense soldier or officer could be found in the area of Foros. They were absent from there. Therefore they could have been given no such task.

Shevardnadze Places Some Blame on Gorbachev

LD2508031491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Report by Andrey Veduta on former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's news conference held in the White Hall of the Moscow city soviet on 24 August; Shevardnadze's remarks recorded]

[Text] [Veduta] First and foremost, journalists were interested in issues concerning Mikhail Gorbachev and new appointments for the country's major posts. Replying to a question about the necessity of holding immediate elections for the new USSR president, because Gorbachev has lost all his influence having returned from the Crimea to a practically new country with a revolutionary situation, Eduard Shevardnadze said:

[Shevardnadze] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has lost considerable influence on the country, and accordingly his authority. This is the reality, and he himself won't deny that. This is the way circumstances have shaped up. What is going to happen? I think this question is far too serious [words indistinct] president. And it is quite a significant issue for the world, for the whole world. That is why some time will be required for us to understand everything well and to think through this new situation—I would say, a revolutionary situation.

As for the things that worry and alarm me now, I would now like to be very sincere in saying that we are now going through a certain euphoria: A victory has been won, reaction has suffered a loss. But after all, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, in a week's time or in 10 days' time people will begin to judge the leaders of society, including democrats and leaders elected democratically, by how they cope with real situations, real problems, and tasks; that is, normal life conditions, provisions, bread, normal conditions in winter. Our crops are bad. The fall in production continues and the level of inflation is already increasing. So we actually found ourselves in a very complex and difficult situation. I do not know how the president is going to cope with all these very intricate challenges of our time. And unless we manage to resolve these most painful and most complex social, economic, and other problems in a very short time, the most frightening things can happen: People may spontaneously go out into the streets. Then another question will arise: Who is going to be at the head of this spontaneous movement?

[Veduta] Replying to a question whether the time has come for Mikhail Sergeyevich to resign from the post of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and to leave the ranks of the CPSU, Eduard Shevardnadze said:

[Shevardnadze] I expressed my views regarding this long ago. I personally advised him to take this step. I am convinced that we would have gained from him adopting such a decision approximately a year, a year and a half or two years ago.

[Veduta] Replying to a question whether Gorbachev will be granted membership of the Democratic Reforms Movement if he actually were to leave the CPSU, Shevardnadze said:

[Shevardnadze] We will think about it. I remain a friend of the country's president, because a friendship of many years cannot be just written off. But at the same time I cannot but say that much blame, a large share of the blame—that this national tragedy, as we called it in those days, had taken place, and in the fact that putschists had succeeded in doing certain things—undoubtedly lies with the country's president. He was in a position to prevent it. He did have a right to go on vacation and to separate himself from the capital in such a complex and difficult situation. I think that this [words indistinct] would not have succeeded. There were very serious symptoms, and I warned about that at the Supreme Soviet session. There were people suggesting that a state of emergency be introduced throughout the country. Very serious complaints were made against him. That is why now I think that, in assessing the political situation and the situation on the whole, he missed quite a few things. He did not draw serious conclusions from my statements, from my warnings; the warning given by my comrades and my colleagues who went to him, appealed to him, and talked with him about the direct danger of dictatorship, about the attack of reactionary forces, about the danger of a coup from the right. All this was said.

[Veduta] Replying to a question whether he pictured a coup in this way last December, Shevardnadze said:

[Shevardnadze] Roughly like this. But in those days I had a coup of a much larger scale in mind, as it were. Gorbachev's and our misfortune lies with the fact that such a team got together. Well, I do not even know, one has to know how to find such people. Excuse me, [words indistinct]. I do not defend him. He does not need it, and my support won't help him if the people do not believe him and if the people do not back him up.

[Veduta] Eduard Shevardnadze called for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to be convened without delay; naturally, without Lukyanov. The Democratic Reforms Movement nominated Laptev for this post. As for the candidature of the prime minister, members of the Democratic Reforms Movement think it should be a professional with the knowledge of both politics and economics. For his part, Eduard Shevardnadze thinks he will never be the foreign minister again. He has no intentions to stand for the USSR presidency. He wants to remain within the Democratic Reforms Movement, which will be eventually transformed into a party. As he put it, the party will nominate its own candidates for the elections; it will set up its shadow cabinet or even a genuine one. Concluding the news conference, he expressed his gratitude to all the parties and people thanks to whom the putschists' shady enterprise had fallen through.

IZVESTIYA on Gorbachev Role in Coup

914B0326A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Comments by Albert Plutnik in "Political Diary": "In August 1991"]

[Text] Two main propositions to start with.

The first: I would like, in spite of everything, to cite among the persons thanks to whom this putsch ended rapidly and in devastating failure, alongside the name of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, one further name: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Despite the fact that he was in isolation this whole while, under house arrest, as it were. He was not in Moscow, but I venture to maintain that even uninvolved in and cut off from events, he exerted a very appreciable influence on them.

The second: Among the persons who bear responsibility for the fact that this putsch was at all possible I would also, without a shadow of doubt, cite this name: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I consider it my duty to say this, although I understand full well that now is not the most suitable moment for hurling any reproaches at the president of the country—following such a dreadful shock. But it is necessary to think not only about yesterday but tomorrow also.

I will try to decipher what has been set forth above.

Experienced putschists were selected, there's no denying. They were practically all trained apparatchiks. Experienced, successful people, almost all. Not some pale-hued, ambitious functionaries pushed into the background—prominent people to a man, none of them having been short-changed by fate or the president. On the contrary, many of them constituted even the honor and pride, as it were, of his team, for which reason, in fact, he, I stress, he, promoted them—to the highest offices of state.

But we will talk about this—about the long chain of the president's astonishing personnel blunders—a little later, now, about the miscalculations of the putschists. By no means, I repeat, novitiates in politics, who had long become among themselves their own kind of people in the party and state elite and who had graduated from a school of work in the central machinery of the Communist Party, which for a very long time was and remains even now, it seems, in many instances an obligatory condition determining the prospects of any "serious" leader and his advancement to the ranks of "top people." To whatever sector the party dispatched the present conspirators, they invariably headed this sector. Almost all of them are members of its Central Committee.

Yes, proven, hardened people, well acquainted with the temper of the surroundings that raised them. And for this reason wholly unpredisposed toward imprudent risk.

And on 19 August, I have no doubt, they were convinced that they were acting safely. Acting yesterday, so to speak, was premature, tomorrow would be too late. But it turned out that today was the wrong time also. It turned out that there were some things that they had not learned and had miscalculated. What precisely? That this be understood now is exceptionally important. Not for the sake, of course, of those coming after them learning from their mistakes. But so that the illusions still wandering around in some people's heads as regards the fact that it is possible today in this weary, tormented and long-suffering country to hold sway by having foisted oneself on the people as their benefactor without having acquired power from them, having clambered onto the throne, might vanish once for all.

Yet everything was on their side, seemingly. Primarily, force. And not just one. On their side were, to a man, the country's armed forces. All the legitimate, as they say, armed formations—the Army and the KGB and the militia. If, of course, wholly in accordance with apparatus thinking, it is considered, as before, that the opinion of the defense minister is the opinion of the whole Army, and the opinion of the KGB chairman, the opinion of all Chekists... Everything had been computed, seemingly, and hopes had been placed, seemingly, in what is generally acknowledged, what is indisputable and what is truly causing general malaise in the country. The collapse of the economy is a reality. Like the rising prices, the decline in the people's living standard, interethnic bloodshed and the orgy of crime also.

Undoubtedly, many of the reforms initiated by Gorbachev had come to a standstill mid-way and had not enjoyed a logical continuation. Much of what has happened in the years of perestroyka and of what is happening today can no longer be ascribed to Stalin and Brezhnev—the present leadership is directly to blame. It is no accident that Gorbachev's popularity rating is today, according to sociologists' data, very low. The ambivalent nature of the president's activity, the complexity and contradictoriness of his personality, which is largely explained by his close, at times, inseparable, connection with the past, given a palpable attraction to the future and to innovative and unprecedented solutions, and his revolutionary boldness in some cases and conservative cautiousness in others have repeatedly afforded society serious grounds for disquiet. Yes, there is much that he has not done or done wrongly, but it transpired that at the most difficult time for him the most dependable guarantee of the defense of democracy and the Constitution and of his personal protection were the transformations in precisely that sphere of life in which he has operated most firmly and consistently, creating an atmosphere of social life which is in principle new for us.

Note: The conspirators acted wholly in accordance with the precedent of 1964. They decided "among themselves" that the time had come to remove the "boss": He is pursuing his own wrong policy. They did not even give themselves the trouble of inventing their own formula of his removal from power. And when it came to the "trifling matters" they were plagiarists: "on health grounds," not to mention the main thing—the action program with which they managed to acquaint the people and which exuded the putrefaction of damp rhetoric and hackneyed "propositions and conclusions." It was clear from the very first order what kind of command would be given to the people, which were "required" to be intimidated: "Right dress. Backward, quick march." They also thought that they could treat people today in just the same way that their predecessors treated them in 1964: confront them plainly with a fait accompli. They were living in 1991 even by the yardsticks of 1964, seemingly. Time had for them stood still, as it were. But not for society, not for the people. The former had learned nothing, although the history of the country was at their service. They believed that even in the new life, under the new circumstances, in the new times and given a new people they could operate by those same calloused methods of the party and state bureaucracy. They would decide everything—they were accustomed to so doing. Everything and for everyone. They had grown accustomed to their personal opinion being the opinion of the people. They had become accustomed to democracy being empty words. They had grown used to not taking seriously the "so-called democrats," who were "straining after power," although they themselves had virtually a patent, a sanction issued by the Almighty virtually, on this power.

So what had they not taken into account? They had not taken into account what a powerful guarantor of the preservation of democracy and legality in an hour of trials the new republic structures are capable of being. Primarily in the Russian Federation, primarily the president of Russia with his authority bestowed by public trust. They had not considered that also capable under the new conditions of being a guarantor of democracy are the people themselves, the thousands and tens and hundreds of thousands of Muscovites, Leningraders, Sverdlovskers, Kemerovans and Vorkutans, the inhabitants of the entire country, who at the call of the democratic leaders whom they trusted and continue to trust took to the streets and squares, leaving their places of work. The people themselves and truly popular leaders, without delay, without second thoughts, without hesitation, rose to the defense of the Constitution and took the part of democracy, which was under attack from the putschists. History has yet to evaluate the fact that it was Yeltsin, Gorbachev's main opponent, who at the critical hour for the president, scorning the danger, courageously rose to the defense of the Constitution and the defense of the legitimately elected president of the country.

The events of these days have shown that the people have an excellent grasp of politics and political leaders. They no longer believe in the pious intentions of those who too fervently proclaim themselves the direct heirs of the traditional power structures, those who have for just over 70 years been promising everything and promising any day now to build a shining future. The people do not

believe in those who are endlessly implementing great designs, and life becoming no better because of this. But the events of these days have shown something else also—how mistaken is the assertion that the people have conclusively lost faith in each and everything and succumbed to apathy and depression.

It was this that was not taken into account by the putschists, who had placed their hopes in the opposite. They failed to take account of the fact that democracy is no longer by any means defenseless in the face of force. Or that the force, the armed forces, was not their property but that of the people. They spoke the right words about the unity of the army and the people, but they meant the unity of the army and the apparatus. They failed to consider that many of the changes begun in April 1985 are already truly irreversible. They have become established and have penetrated and enlightened society and have rid people of fawning reverence of officials and of blind faith in each instruction and injunction. They have rid them of fear in the face of the bawling of superiors, and even, in the face of a tank. Democracy has taught the people not to remain silent. And they no longer remain silent when their wishes are being flouted.

But I promised to talk also about Gorbachev's responsibility for what has happened.

Remember, just recently we were racking our brains over those who in fact constituted the unlawful public salvation committees which were operating in the Baltic. Not a single name was mentioned, the center had no idea, seemingly, and locally this secret was kept under seven seals. But there then emerged essentially the same "public salvation committee" on an all-Union scale. This operated out in the open. And we heard, some with astonishment, some with anger, that it was composed of the president's closest aides, just imagine, the country's entire top leadership. The vice president, who had progressed to this office from the position of member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and was, after Gorbachev, No. 2 in the state. His first assistant in terms of leadership of the Defense Council and a former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The head of the government and the leaders of key ministries and committees. Whichever person, the president's right hand. One would have to try very hard to select similar aides capable of banding together in a group and uniting their efforts in anti-presidential activity.

Yes, Gorbachev inherited a difficult legacy from his predecessors. But, after all, it was not Stalin or Brezhnev who chose his personnel. He personally selected his personnel. Things are not that good for you and I here, worse, in any event, in this sense than for the president. We do not choose our fellow employees. We have to content ourselves with those whom God sends. But the president—the president!—he himself assembles his team and himself chooses his aides and the principal officials. Remember how fiercely Gorbachev defended Yanayev's nomination for the office of vice president when it was being rejected by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Remember how vigorously, once again in response to questions of the people's deputies, he showed that he saw in the role of defense minister only Yazov. Remember, finally, the kind of dress rehearsal for an anti-presidential putsch at a closed meeting of the country's Supreme Soviet, at which ministers among the future conspirators presented program statements. No serious sanctions ensued, as far as I know. And after the speech in the Supreme Soviet, once again memorable, of the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, when the latter demanded for himself new powers, essentially laying claim to a share of presidential authority? Then also the president took Pavlov under his protection, declaring that there were no serious disagreements between himself and the premier. And, naturally, once again no sanctions. But what now?

Are not all those perennial stereotypes originating in the times of the cult of personality and the years of stagnation not reflected in the president's personnel policy and in other of his appointments and dismissals? The president has more than once demonstrated a traditional and unshakable confidence in "his people." Those whom, to use terminology accepted at the top, "the party knows" are, as before, high-priced.

Democracy is now capable of influencing the fundamental processes of public life. Having conquered the putschists, it has demonstrated this. But certain concealed corners, whither it has simply not been able to percolate, persist, as it were, in society. Let us hope that the events of August 1991 serve to further enlighten souls and that they explain much not just to us but to the president also.

IZVESTIYA Praises Yeltsin's Political Skill

914B0326B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by A. Vasinskiy: "A Word Upon the Dismantling of the Barricades"]

[Text] Now that the putsch of the conspirators has collapsed, self-styled fearless heroes, benefactors, and saviors of the nation are coming out of the woodwork. Some of them, it turns out, were communicating all these days with the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and "in a comradely fashion" were admonishing them, summoning them to prudence and observation of moderation in order to avoid great bloodshed and, in general, teaching the wolves to eat grass... Others are giving themselves credit for the fact that they restrained themselves from siding with the conspirators. Others yet are talking about their silence as though it were a great contribution to the victory.

As usual, the further we go the more such champions and benefactors there will be...

And meanwhile, the three names of those who died on the approaches to the House of Russia will remain

immutable for all time. And there is one more name of a man who took upon himself the full measure of danger and responsibility in those—now we can pronounce this word without any exaggeration—fateful days: Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia. He and his companions-in-arms not only demonstrated loyalty to their oath and to the people, risking all—career, freedom, and life itself, but also demonstrated it in a fashion that was morally irreproachable, politically skillful, and professionally courageous. And this is very important because they operated, in essence, under conditions similar to those on a front, where the accuracy and purposefulness of their decisions and the fearlessness and speed of their reaction to the situation meant as much at times as in all great battles.

Today it is terrible to contemplate what would have happened if that junta, symbolizing the death throes of totalitarianism and of Communist Party ideology, had triumphed. In 1917 one of the foremost Bolsheviks said that if they did not win, a door would slam and shake the entire world. Today's conspirators, worthy successors of their predecessors, would also like to slam the door "that way." But, thank God, they were not successful. There was nothing to slam: The Muscovites had pulled down the door for the barricades. Let them now slam whatever they want.

But how monstrously close to the abyss we were those three days which shook the world!

Now everyone knows to whom we, the people, and the Fatherland are indebted for salvation "from concentration camps, oppression of those who think differently, and night arrests" and for deliverance from the "thickening cloud of terror and dictatorship" (words from B. Yeltsin's appeal to servicemen on 19 August 1991).

The Russian president and his companions-in-arms, elected by the people, have also become the elect of our common fate. It is truly good fortune that at the fateful moment of our trials in Russia a legal president was nationally elected and that he turned out to be able to avoid yielding to any provocations, to escape arrest, and to lead a resistance movement. It is truly good fortune that the powerfully organized forces of the junta were opposed by a staff of legal authority and that in the country there was an address, a name, and a point where the energy of support and hope of millions of honest people could come together—without that precise address and addressee it, not focused on the leaders and defenders of the building on the Krasnopresnenskiy Embankment, could have dissipated and not had any effect.

Today we can say that in the struggle with the remnants of the empire of evil, in the struggle with the agents of the Communist Party conspiracy, the forces of the new Russian freedom—the mind, honor, and conscience of our epoch—were victorious.

Russia loves paradoxes. (Or paradoxes love Russia?) It has happened that the putsch will inevitably give impetus to reform and the attempt at a coup will speed up democratic reforms.

No, recalling today the anxious days and nights in the "White House," the raising of the barricades, and the readiness to block the way of the tanks, one thinks that our revolution cannot be a velvet one. Blood has already flowed. But today we can say that we are not barbarians or cattle or humanity's bogeyman. Those days and nights of August 1991 brought us together with the citizens of Berlin in 1953, Budapest in 1956, Prague in 1968...

Long live your and my freedom!

Prosecutor Trubin's Opinion on Coup Questioned

PM2308222591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Feature comprising report by unnamed TASS correspondent plus commentary by Ye. Zhbanov: "The Prosecutor General in Cuba and at Home; PRENSA LATINA Report"]

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports: As has become known, on 19 August Cuba's PRENSA LATINA issued a report on a press conference given by USSR General Prosecutor Trubin, who had arrived in Cuba on 13 August "to sign a bilateral cooperation agreement." Responding to journalists' questions, Trubin stated that "the measures taken by the State Committee on the State of Emergency are completely lawful and are aimed at saving the national economy." According to him, the actions taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency "were aimed at strengthening legal order and legality—obligatory conditions for achieving today's democratic ideals" and are also designed to "enforce the fulfillment of the provisions of the constitution in the emergency situation obtaining in the USSR." The general prosecutor acknowledged that the "measures taken could be interpreted in different ways by the population and the emergence of an opposition is expected," however, he expressed the hope that "sensible feelings will prevail."

[Zhbanov begins] IZVESTIYA received this report through TASS channels today, 23 August. Let us say in advance that we have no firm confidence that the sources of the information are wholly reliable. It cannot be ruled out at all that USSR General Prosecutor Trubin's words "the measures taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency are completely lawful" were simply imputed to him in order to pass off someone's wish for the reality.

However, the report does coincide very suspiciously with what actually happened.

Yes, it is true that when blood had been spilled and the people had upheld freedom, while the putschists had taken to their heels, nothing remained but to show

principledness after the events—to institute criminal proceedings into the case of state treason. But it will very likely appear strange that during the three days following the coup d'etat, three days of mortal opposition to the neo-Bolshevist regime imposed by the self-styled committee, the very state organ which is entrusted with carrying out supreme oversight of the exact and uniform execution of the laws, should have exhibited no signs at all even of alarm and consternation. The USSR Prosecutor's Office observed the escalation of the state of lawlessness with incomprehensible calm.

Of course they were perfectly well aware there that it is essential, according to the law, to report to the Supreme Soviet on a state of emergency that has been introduced and that the state of emergency only acquires the force of a legal measure with its assent. As is well known, a Supreme Soviet session was promised for 26 August. Consequently, the normative acts passed by the "committee" and put into effect from the moment of their publication were actions of deliberate arbitrary rule and lawlessness.

Is that, then, why the USSR Prosecutor's Office stayed silent?... Is this silence not a sign of criminal consent. That is the question to which, I think, Comrade Trubin, general prosecutor of the union, will still have to give an answer. But for the time being, the question remains open.

Trubin Denies Claim; Describes Investigation

PM2308193191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by V. Rudnev including interview with USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin; place and date not given: "Arrests in the Case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency"]

[Text] The following were arrested on the night of 22-23 August on the sanction of the USSR General Prosecutor: O. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; O. Baklanov, former first deputy chairman of the the USSR Defense Council; V. Boldin, former leader of the USSR president's staff; Yu. Plekhanov, chief of the USSR KGB Protection Administration; V. Varennikov, commander in chief of the country's Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister. Operatives are seeking V. Starodubtsev, chairman of the USSR Peasants' Union, who is outside Moscow. All of them, except Yu. Plekhanov, are USSR people's deputies, and consent to their arrest and the institution of criminal proceedings was unanimously given by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The arrests were carried out by a USSR Internal Affairs Ministry operational group. Searches have been carried out.

USSR Prosecutor General Nikolay Trubin comments.

[Trubin] The investigation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency case is only just starting. More and more new names are being given during questioning. The mass media are making disclosures, which we will have to check. Incidentally, IZVESTIYA has already named certain "heroes" of the coup d'etat in the country, whom we will deal with in the very near future.

[Rudnev] The Russian Prosecutor's Office is also investigating the criminal case concerning the August putsch in the country. Won't the Baltic scenario of two investigative groups looking into one criminal case occur?

[Trubin] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] General Prosecutor V. Stepankov is entitled to make his own independent decisions on opening criminal proceedings. But from the very first hours both he and Russian President Boris Yeltsin consulted with me on certain procedural questions. So we will not depart from joint investigation and the formation of a single operational investigative group. We are right now working together in fact.

[Rudnev] Judging by the scale of the plot and the official positions of the arrested officials a long—years-long—investigation is in store...

[Trubin] We have made this decision. We are assigning the actions of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and their immediate entourage to separate proceedings and we will be endeavoring to complete this case in a month or two. We will be carrying out a parallel investigation of the other persons involved in the plot.

[Rudnev] The USSR president himself is a witness in the case. Will he be questioned?

[Trubin] On 22 August I gave M. Gorbachev a progress report on the case. He agreed to give testimony to our investigator. If need be we will question members of his family and personal security guard.

[Rudnev] And my final question. A report has appeared in the newspapers that while on official assignment in Cuba you approved the State Committee for the State of Emergency's activity.

[Trubin] That is a lie. The journalist artificially wrenched words out of context from my conversation at the press conference. I will not say that I formed a clear idea of the situation in the country while in Cuba. But I had no doubt from the very outset that the formation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency was contrary to the country's constitution.

Changes Staff; Dismisses Deputies

LD2408164691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The USSR procurator general has made the first changes in his staff. Vasilyev, first deputy procurator general of the USSR, was relieved of his duties. He was acting procurator general during the critical moment in the country's life. According to the order, Vasilyev showed lack of principles and courage, and failed to guide the procuracy bodies toward an active opposition to the anticonstitutional actions by the conspirators.

Abramov, deputy procurator general of the USSR, was also relieved of his duties for failing to exercise proper control over the implementation of the laws on state security.

Merges Union, Russian Investigations

LD2508210291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] USSR Procurator General Trubin, having examined the situation which has arisen as regards the investigation of the crime committed by a group of conspirators who attempted to perpetrate a coup d'etat in the country, has established:

Two criminal cases have been instituted on the crime in question by the USSR Procuracy and by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Procuracy. One group of participants in the conspiracy has been arrested by the USSR Procurator General, the other by the RSFSR Procurator General.

Work on the cases is being conducted in an uncoordinated way, which is complicating the investigation.

The RSFSR leadership and state procuracy, rightly believing that their republic has suffered most from the crime and has played a decisive role in suppressing the putsch, insist on the investigation of the case in full by its competent bodies.

At the same time, resolving many questions in this criminal case comes under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR procurator: commencing a criminal case against a USSR people's deputy and raising the issue of stripping him of his immunity as a deputy; investigating the case and resolving all procedural matters vis a vis servicemen.

One cannot but take into account, too, that the conspirators' intention included perpetrating a coup d'etat on the territory of the entire country, including also on the territories of other sovereign republics making up the USSR.

On the basis of what has been set out above and guided by articles 26, 129, and 132 of the RSFSR code of criminal procedure, I have resolved:

1. To combine the criminal cases instituted by the USSR Procuracy and the RSFSR Procuracy into one investigative procedure.

2. To combine the investigative groups of the USSR Procuracy and the RSFSR Procuracy.

3. To appoint RSFSR Deputy General Prosecutor Lisov as leader of the combined investigative group and to appoint Frolov, deputy chief of the Directorate for the Investigation of Especially Important Cases of the USSR Procuracy as the deputy leader.

4. To entrust the supervision of the investigation of the case within the bounds of Russian republican jurisdiction to RSFSR Prosecutor General Stepankov.

5. To entrust the supervision of the crimes connected with the putsch on the territory of the other sovereign republics to the general procurators and procurators of these republics.

6. I reserve to myself resolving supervisory matters under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR General Procurator.

We have broadcast a decision by USSR Procurator General Trubin.

Abolishes Latvian, Lithuanian Procuracies

LD2308185591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The USSR procurator general abolished the Latvian and Lithuanian procuracies, both of which are subordinate to him. It is proposed that the personnel department should find employment for those now unemployed by the move.

Argentina Recognizes Independence of Baltics

LD2608073691 Moscow TASS in English 0611 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Nyrkov]

[Text] Buenos Aires August 26 TASS—The Argentine Government has recognised the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the TELAM news agency reported on Sunday.

President Carlos Menem of Argentina instructed Ambassador to the Soviet Union Gaston de Prat Gay to establish diplomatic contacts with the Baltic republics, reads a statement distributed here by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion.

Iceland Confirms Recognition of Latvia, Estonia

LD2308074991 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sidorov]

[Text] Copenhagen August 23 TASS—Icelandic Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, acting on behalf of his government, handed a letter to Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans here on Thursday. It confirmed the recognition of independence of that state and of Estonia, another Baltic republic, made earlier.

At the same time, the letter expressed Iceland's readiness to begin talks with Latvia and Estonia about the establishment of diplomatic relations with them, the RITZAUS BUREAU of Denmark reports. Lithuanian President Landsbergis also received a message from the Icelandic Government to the effect that it is ready to finish preparations needed for the establishment of official relations with that republic, the independence of which it had recognised earlier.

"Heads of foreign political departments of the three Baltic republics will have a meeting on Saturday or Sunday, after which I shall be informed of their future steps in this direction," Jon Hanibalsson told RITZAUS BUREAU. He also said that he had informed Russian President Yeltsin of the steps taken by the Icelandic Government.

Tallinn Radio Report

LD2308091191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Iceland is the first state in the world to have recognized Estonian and Latvian independence. A letter to this effect was handed over yesterday to Janis Jurkans, Latvian foreign minister, by Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, Icelandic foreign minister, in Copenhagen. According to a Danish information agency, Iceland is ready to start talks with Estonia and Latvia to establish diplomatic relations. Previously, Iceland had recognized Lithuania, and is also ready to recognize Russia should it delare herself independent, and secede from the USSR.

Foreign Ministers Visit Iceland

LD2608061391 Moscow TASS in English 0553 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sidorov]

[Text] Copenhagen August 26 TASS—The foreign ministers of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on Sunday arrived in Reykjavik to work out a joint statement with Iceland on re-establishing diplomatic relations. They met Iceland's Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson.

In an interview with the Danish Ritzaus Bureau news agency in Reykjavik, Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri called "on all states to follow Iceland's example".

"Iceland's moves can be considered as a small step made by a small country. But today we are making a great step ahead within the framework of the whole international community," Meri said.

According to Ritzaus Bureau, the official signing of a joint statement confirming the establishment of diplomatic relations between the states is expected on Monday.

The agency notes that it is not clear in what form this will be realised practically, as Iceland believes that it is inexpedient to create embassies in the Baltic republics now. Iceland might set up information bureaus or consultative offices in the Baltic states.

Quoting Hannibalsson, the agency notes that the Norwegian Embassy in Reyjavik was planning to invite the Baltic foreign ministers to arrive in Norway on Monday to sign documents on establishing official relations between the states.

Baltics Focus on Relations With KGB

OW2408174991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Algirdas Ruksenas, head of the Lithuanian KGB's press center, on August 24 in Vilnius Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila and Deputy Chairman of the USSR KGB Valery Lebedev signed a protocol "On mutual commitments of the Lithuanian government and the USSR KGB".

Under the protocol, the Lithuanian KGB enters a transitional period during which it will act "on the mutually acceptable basis" in correspondence with Lithuania's interests.

The Lithuanian government commits itself to guarantee political and civil rights of the KGB servicemen and their families, as well as the inviolability of the KGB's assets in Lithuania.

The two sides have decided to set up a conciliatory commission to tackle the employment problem and other social issues.

The protocol points out that the USSR KGB's assets should be divided among the two sides as soon as possible.

Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis told a rally Friday that the Lithuanian KGB has already transferred its building under the jurisdiction of the city of Kaunas.

As BF [BALTFAX] learned from the Latvia radio's information service, at a plenary meeting behind closed doors in Riga the Latvian parliament is discussing the Latvian KGB's status.

Speaking at the meeting, Chief of the Latvian KB Johansons Diera suggested that part of the KGB personnel may oppose the transfer of the KGB under the republican jurisdiction.

The discussion is under way.

Meanwhile, the "National Independence Movement" made up of radical members of the Latvian Popular Front has urged the population to gather near the KGB building in Riga to prevent the removal of documents.

According to Chairman of the Tallinn city council Andres Kork, Chief of the Tallinn KGB Board Ervin Nielander had informed the city authorities that beginning from August 24 the Board suspends its activities until the end of talks between the USSR and Estonia.

The Board also announced that it will adhere to Estonia's laws only.

Estonia

Ruutel Visits RSFSR, Meets With Yeltsin

LD2408135991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] This morning RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin received Arnold Ruutel, the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia, who is on a working visit to Moscow. The heads of the states exchanged information on the situation in Russia and Estonia. Main attention during the meeting was paid to the interstate relations of the RSFSR and the Republic of Estonia and to the recognition of state independence of the Republic of Estonia by the Russian Federation. A decree of Boris Yeltsin on full recognition of Estonia's state independence is presently being prepared. This news was given a little while ago from Moscow by the press service of the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia.

This afternoon Arnold Ruutel will have several meetings with the envoys of foreign countries accredited to Moscow.

At the start of Arnold Ruutel's working day today in Moscow, ETA reports that the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia met also with Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the leaders of the USSR Democratic Movement. The conversation dealt with the prospects of the USSR's democratic development and the regulation of relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia.

Arnold Ruutel and Indrek Toome, chairman of the Supreme Council's Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia, also met with Vadim Bakatin, recently appointed chairman of the USSR KGB. Questions connected with the reorganization of the KGB organs, including also their elimination in the Republic of Estonia, arising from the resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia on the state independence of the Republic of Estonia, was discussed.

Discuss Estonian Independence

LD2608072791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Commentary by Raul Malk]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] International recognition of the restoration of the Republic of Estonia's independence was to begin only with Moscow; and so it did. [passage omitted] Thanks to filmmaker Mark Soosaar we have at our disposal sound recordings where [Estonian Supreme Council chairman] Arnold Ruutel and Boris Yeltsin express their ideas. We apologize for the quality of sound.

[Begin recording] [Ruutel, in Russian] This document, this decree will serve as a foundation for our relations—both of a strictly personal kind between the two peoples and of the economic and cultural kind—so that our good relations would be of the best kind for centuries. Once more, thank you very much, Boris Nikolayevich. And we will further advance the democratic process together.

[Yeltsin, in Russian] I wish success to the Estonian people, to the people of the Republic of Estonia. All the best! It was a just, necessary, and timely act, so that I signed the decree with pleasure. Congratulations. [end recording] [passage omitted]

What is left to me is to emphasize the main thought of our head of state—I would so much like to say "the president"—that cooperation with a democratic Russia holds a vital role for ensuring Estonia's independence. [passage omitted] Rebirth of Estonian independence is not by chance; it has been fought for. Here is Boris Yeltsin's comment.

[Begin Yeltsin recording in Russian] You have been striving for your sovereignty and later for state independence for quite some time. It is a second year or perhaps even a third. And so the process was in progress, but unfortunately on the part of the Union leadership it was delayed in various ways. Now it is understandable why.

So that had this putsch—this coup—succeeded, it would have been yet another seizure of these Baltic republics; not only another injustice, but tragedy for the people.

For this reason the people of Estonia, the Supreme Council, and the leadership have been striving for independence, and I consider it right for you to have been striving. And we supported you all the time. I personally and as president, too, together with the foreign minister, we have today certified with a document, with a decree about the independence of the Republic of Estonia as a state. I think this is a serious and major step, and yet another step toward democratizing our society; and already a compeletely different state of development for the Republic of Estonia. I congratulate you, all peoples of the Republic of Estonia, the Supreme Council and its leadership, on this act. I mean not only on recognition, but because the Republic of Estonia has been declared to be functioning as a state. [end recording]

Thus, in the opinion of the Russian leader, the fight of the Estonian people has always been just. I believe that the time is not far off when we will be able to receive the president of Russia in an independent Estonia and to demonstrate recognition to him on our part. At the moment, what is needed is resoluteness and advancement every hour. Arnold Ruutel in his radio address last night emphasized clearly: The Baltic hour is brief, but we will put it to a good use. [passage omitted]

Substantial shifts are taking place in the positions of the Russian population in Estonia. The duty of everyone is to assist them in this. Those who recognize the Estonian authority and wish to devote themselves to building this country can expect a normal life in a normal society. Within a framework of close cooperation with Russia they will be able to keep in touch with their relatives and resolve other problems, too. [passage omitted]

Meets Democratic Reform Leader

LD2308155191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The press service of the chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council reports that Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, who is on a working visit in Moscow, met academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the leaders of the movement for democratic reforms in the USSR, last night. The situation in Russia and in the whole of the USSR, as well as in Estonia, was discussed thoroughly in the 90-minute talks. Prospects for further development were viewed from an analytical point of view. Arnold Ruutel spoke in detail about Estonia's positions to regulate state relations with the USSR. The meeting was held in a warm atmosphere of broad-based mutual understanding.

Meets Khasbulatov, Foreign Envoys

LD2308160191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, who arrived last night in Moscow on a working visit, today met Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. After that, he had discussions with Sir Rodric Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR; U.S. Embassy First Secretary (Judyt Mandel); and Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the USSR. Accompanying the Supreme Council chairman in Moscow are Indrek Toome, chairman of the Supreme Council's foreign commission; Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson; and councillors Arno Allmann and Tiit Nuudi.

Ruutel Interviewed on Coup Attempt

OW2408174391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Estonian Republic's Supreme Soviet Arnold Ruutel gave an exclusive interview to BF's [BALTFAX's] Georgy Shabad.

Q: What steps did the Estonian leadership take during the coup attempt in the republic?

A: The first reports (of the coup) reached me at about 6:00 a.m., and I responded at once. We convened the Supreme Soviet and I made a report that condemned the actions of the Emergency Committee. Then I received a telephone call from the commander of the Baltic Military District who presented an ultimatum. I replied that we continued the process of social democratisation and would take appropriate decisions in the Supreme Soviet.

We took three decisions: we rejected categorically any compliance with the Emergency Committee; appealed to all world nations; and gave powers to the (Estonian) Special Defense Council I am head of, to be used if the demands of the Emergency Committee should be complied with and the republican government should go out of business.

Later on we decided to restore Estonia to full independence. We did not knuckle under to threats of ultimatums issued by local work collectives and individuals or the coup leaders.

Q: What is the significance of the declaration restoring independence that the Estonian Supreme Soviet Passed? What would be its implications in relations between Estonia and the USSR?

A: The decision to restore a fully independent Estonian Republic means that we plan to revise all our relations with the Soviet Union, political, administrative and economic.

This does not mean that we will sever all economic ties, but we will redefine them as interstate relations. And we could gradually reshape the political ties so as to be the full master of our territory, i.e., to rebuild the customs system, to place it under Estonian authority, to phase in republican control over the border, etc. We will finalize all legal aspects. And law-enforcement authorities will also be put under Estonia's undivided authority. Currently, we seek to persuade the Soviet president to issue a decree recognizing all the documents passed by the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

We insist that the Soviet delegation at the talks with Estonia be made sufficiently authoritative. We also insist that the negotiations should be conducted at the top level to resolve the backlog of outstanding issues that has accumulated over the last decades. If the Soviet delegation upgrades its level, so will the Estonian one.

Q: You have said that Estonia would like the Soviet President to issue a decree. What about your present contacts with Mikhail Gorbachev?

A: We shall come in contact with Mikhail Gorbachev and try to agree on the decree as soon as possible. I have sent him a private letter and the latest documents, including the Declaration on independence. Copies of these documents have also been passed to the President's Secretariat by the Estonian representation in Moscow.

Q: What are your relations with the Russian Federation's leadership?

A: I had a meeting with Ruslan Khasbulatov Friday and we will meet again on August 24. I would describe the results of our meeting as "positive". R. Khasbulatov supported all of our decisions, including the Declaration on independence. He praised our unyielding refusal to fulfil the State of Emergency Committee's orders. R. Khasbulatov announced that the Russian Federation had recognized Estonia's independence. I hope the two sides will sign a document on that issue in the near future. R. Khasbulatov also backed our measures to restore law and order in Estonia. So, I can say that the meeting was very useful.

Q: Do you think a "witch hunt" is possible in the republic now that the coup has collapsed?

A: In my view, those who were so agressive presenting ultimatums to us should be held responsible. Of course, it must be done by the law enforcement bodies in full compliance with law. The Estonian Supreme Council has already taken appropriate decisions. Special commissions have been set up to investigate actions of individuals and groups of people who supported the State of Emergency Committee.

Foreign Minister Meri on Recognition

LD2608074491 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 25 TASS—Declaring that the Baltic question is no longer a regional problem, Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri stressed that in the past five days the Estonian people came out firmly in defence of freedom and democracy by openly supporting the Russian people and Boris Yeltsin, the ESTONIAN NEWS AGENCY reports from the first press conference given by Meri after his return from Finland.

Meri emphasised the need for international cooperation and for recognising the Estonian Republic. He thanked the members of the European Community for their support and also Iceland for giving rapid recognition to Estonia and expressed the hope that other states too would follow suit.

However, Meri noted that Estonia continued to face difficulties, for instance, the presence of Soviet troops and border control. He promised to get down to solving these problems in the next ten days.

Savisaar Chairs Goverment Session

On Stabilizing Estonia

LD2608105491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by Juhan Hindov, Estonian Government press spokesman]

[Text] On the evening of 25 August, another session of the Republic of Estonia's government took place on Toompea, chaired by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. The government discussed fulfillment of its previous resolutions and drew conclusions, as well as planned a string of new tasks to stabilize the Republic of Estonia's situation. The government resolved to charge the border guard department and the police department with the task of taking under its full control—starting from 2300 hours on the evening of 25 August—the economic border in Narva area. Inter-Movement activity was banned on the Republic of Estonia's territory. In connection with its participation in the criminal coup attempt, United Council of Work Collectives activity was ended. Workers' squads in Kohtla-Jarve and Narva were disbanded with a government resolution. The activity of the unlawful formation under the leadership of Mikhail Lysenko was banned on the Republic of Estonia's territory. The Internal Affairs Ministry was charged with the task of taking measures to implement these resolutions. The government proposed that the Republic of Estonia procurator's office start immediate criminal proceedings against the Inter-Movement, the United Council of Work Collectives, and the workers' squad.

Another government session will take place tomorrow and will discuss the activity of town councils and town governments of Narva, Kohtla-Jarve, and Sillamae and its lawfulness in northeast Estonia. Tiit Vahi, the government's special representative, will deliver a report on his activity in the area.

On Resolutions, Parties Ban

LD2308160391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Comments by Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar—place and date not given; recorded]

[Excerpts] I want to highlight first and foremost that there was a discussion at a meeting of the Republic of Estonia government today on how the law of 16 May of last year on temporary governing has been fulfilled in Estonia. In accordance with the law, a resolution was adopted to separate the procurator's office in the Republic of Estonia from the USSR Procuracy system; that is, to do so organizationally, procedurally, and financially, as well as to earmark finances in the republican budget. It was also decided that a draft law on the republican procurator's office will be drawn up within three months. By 1 December it will be presented to the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council.

It was also acknowledged at the government session that a joint protocol resolution has been completed between the Estonian and Russian procurator's offices, in order to develop cooperation in the investigation of the circumstances of the coup and to determine who is responsible, who took part, and who supported it. I think that this is very important, because there have been cases when people who have been accused in Estonia have left for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and thus escaped from our procurator's office's jurisdiction.

Second, the government adopted a resolution on stopping the activity of primary organizations of political parties, associations, and movements in enterprises and establishments, starting from 1 September this year. [passage omitted]

Third, it was decided to set up a citizenship department within the jurisdiction of the minister of justice. The task of the citizenship department will be to resolve legal issues connected with the passport regime until a law on citizenship is adopted, as well as to work through the issue of [word indistinct] and to present this to the Supreme Council. In general, it will have the function of designing a citizenship system.

The government adopted a resolution today to dismiss Aleksandr Banasko, director of Estonian civil aviation, in connection with the active support on his part of the coup attempt and his previous activity aimed at destabilizing Estonian society. Specifically, the issue is as follows: During the days of the attempted coup, Nadezhda radio station was relayed on a local system in the waiting rooms at the airport. It was carrying material aimed at incitement of activities against the state. At the same time, relays of Estonian radio were banned at the airport. It has been established that on the evening of 18 August, which is the same date as the coup began to take place, a special KGB plane flew through Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—through Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. As far as we know, it carried instructions to be distributed for the coup. Banasko did not report this to the republican government and did not record in the airport records this flight and landing.

He placed a paratroop helicopter on the airport territory. He also placed their camp in the immediate vicinity of the runway. The whole activity of their camp—down to their drinking soup—took place there. In that way he endangered civilian aviation. He did not demand that they leave the territory of the airport, nor did he inform the republican government of their activities.

Two earlier resolutions were voided at today's session. The first of those is a September 1940 Council of People's Commissars resolution which hands over railways and shipping premises and facilities to Union subordination. Second, a 1965 October Sovnarkhoz resolution was voided on handing over a large section of enterprises to the Soviet Union; that is, to Union subordination. [passage omitted]

Supreme Council Adopts Resolution on Coup

LD2308164591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council on Toompea adopted at its evening session a Republic of Estonia Supreme Council resolution on those who assisted the coup attempt that took place in the USSR. This document was adopted by a role call vote. Marju Lauristin [deputy speaker], is this a necessary document in order to assess responsibility on the part of those who assisted in the coup attempt?

[Begin Lauristin recording] Yes, definitely. The initiative for adopting such a document came simultaneously from a considerable number of deputies as an urgent issue. The idea was present not only today, but during all those difficult days, on the part of a very large number of people. The government discussed the very same issue this morning and adopted a very thorough and specific resolution, so that the Supreme Council in essence needs to provide a political assessment and political authorization for the government's activity, while making the government report to the Supreme Council on these issues. It is important that all this—the investigative activity as well as the liquidation of all the consequences of the coup attempt—will take place under the eyes of the Supreme Council and that the public will be aware of this. Of course, the Supreme Council has the authority to decide what is to be done with the public organizations that assisted in the coup attempt and those who acted on our territory, as well as the issues of the Army and the press.

We have a very comfortable feeling when we were adopting resolutions to this effect, because we did not adopt them being wise in hindsight. We had the Supreme Council statement of 19 August to serve as a basis. That was the first day of the coup. As you remember, in this very hall there were a number of speeches by deputies. The majority of the Supreme Council firmly defended

democracy and gave their assessments then. Now this assessment serves as a basis for us in order to start an investigation into this unlawful activity and to hold culprits responsible. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Government Bans Communist Party Activities

LD2408085391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 24 Aug (TASS)—The Estonian government has adopted a decision to end the activities of the CPSU organization—the Estonian Communist Party—on the territory of the republic. This decision is taken on the basis of the decision by the Estonian Supreme Soviet on the elimination of the consequences of the attempted coup in the USSR and also the republican law on public organizations and movements. In accordance with this law, the Estonian Communist Party (CPSU) is not registered in the local bodies of authority since it has its supreme body outside the boundaries of the republic.

It has been proposed that the Estonian procuracy and MVD bodies begin an investigation of "the illegal activities" of the Estonian Communist Party during the period of its existence from the time this law was adopted.

Communist Party Withdraws From CPSU

LD2508180891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonia 1700 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The bureau of the independent Communist Party of Estonia issued a statement today. The document, bearing the signature of Enn-Arno Sillari, first secretary of its Central Committee, says:

In the changing circumstances, Communist Party of Estonia members elected to CPSU leading bodies do not consider themselves as belonging there and are ceasing their activity there. The bureau of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee appealed to Communist Party of Estonia members still in the ranks of the CPSU to sever their links with that organization.

The statement says that the Communist Party of Estonia considers the party property—both of the Communist Party of Estonia and at the disposal of the Communist Party of Estonia—to be its property. The Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee has approached the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council and our government to jointly seek more opportune ways to using party properties in the interests of the Estonian people, proceeding from the law on the foundations of the ownership reform. At its own initiative the Communist Party of Estonia gives up [words indistinct] its building and its motor pool to the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council. Likewise, nationalized and state property which had been at the disposal of the Communist Party of Estonia will be returned to the government. The Communist Party of Estonia considers its archive as belonging to the [words indistinct] archive found at the Republic of Estonia [words indistinct].

Coup Supporters Sacked; To Stand Trial

PM2308141791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by "Our Correspondent" G. Sapozhnikova: "New Boys To Be Squeezed In?"]

[Text] Tallinn—Since some of Estonia's parties and organizations morally supported the putschists, the government has deemed it necessary to take rigorous steps.

By decision of the government, the directors of enterprises under Union jurisdiction who overtly backed the coup d'etat have been dismissed from their posts. Among them are A. Lukoshkin, chief of the Tallinn maritime trading port, and I. Shepelevich, director of the Kh. Peyegelmann Plant. The third on the list is V. Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" plant, who was recorded as being on vacation at the time.

"Nadezhda" [Hope] Radio is to be closed down—it broadcast appeals by Yevgeniy Kogan for support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. And the Estonian Prosecutor's Office has been told to initiate criminal proceedings against all the individuals involved in supporting the putsch.

...There are quite a lot of citizens in Estonia who overtly or secretly sympathized with the putsch and who are liable to punishment. It has been announced that there is not enough room in the jails for the criminals. The new boys will have to be squeezed in.

Government Bans Party Activities in Enterprises

OW2308211491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2026 GMT 23 Aug

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 23 the Estonian Government decided to prepare by December 1 a draft law "On the Prosecutor's Office of Estonia" which will establish the procedures of its separation from the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR.

The Estonian Government has banned activities of all political parties at enterprises, organizations and institutions of Estonia beginning from September 1.

The Estonian Government has repealed the Soviet Government's decree issued in September 1940 to transfer railroad stations and ports on Estonian territory under jurisdiction of the USSR, as well its decree putting most of Estonia's plants under Soviet management adopted in 1965.

BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports that so far none of the political organizations has been banned in

Estonia. A governmental commission has been set up which will consider that issue and take a decision on Monday.

The Russian and Estonian Governments have agreed to launch a joint investigation into the recent coup d'etat.

'Unlawful Formations' Banned, Arrests Continue

LD2608090591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Another piece of news from the government has been brought in: The Republic of Estonia government announces that, during the night, the Estonian police forces and Kodukaitse [home defense] carried out an operation in which the CPSU building in Tallinn was taken. The headquarters of both the Inter-Movement and the United Council of Work Collectives were also taken under control. Order has been restored on the economic border along the Narva town section. The unlawful formations—the so-called workers' squads—have been disbanded. Their leaders, Lysenko and (?Belov), have been arrested. Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the government, signed an order this morning which stops the activity of the KGB in Estonia. The internal affairs ministry has been charged with the task of ensuring that KGB work premises are closed and sealed. The Estonian telecommunications state enterprise has been ordered to close immediately and to liquidate KGB's special means of communications in long distance and local telephone communications and radio communications networks.

Tallinn Workers Petition for Dismissed Directors

OW2308212191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2026 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 23 workers of two Estonian enterprises subordinated to the Union with their directors dismissed for collaboration with the State of Emergency Committee held rallies demanding that they be restored to their positions. The workers have issued a petition which will be sent to Moscow. In case of a refusal, they will address directly Mikhail Gorbachev.

On August 23 the Estonian government dismissed head of the Estonian Civil Aviation Department Aleksandr Banasko for "his active support of the plotters and activities on distabilization of the situation in Estonia". During three days programs of the radio station "Nadezhda" with announcements of the State of Emergency Committee's decrees have been relayed at the airport. No other broadcasts were permitted.

Banasko is also accused of allowing an airborne helicopter to land and set up a camp near the runway, as well as of not informing the Estonian authorities about paratroopers' moves. The Estonian government believes with these actions [by] Banasko put people's lives under threat.

Tallinn Orders Dismantling of Lenin Monument

OW2308150291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1445 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As BF [BALTFAX] learned from the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's press service, on August 23 at 4:15 pm a monument to Lenin was dismantled in Tallinn by decision of the city executive committee.

Latvia

Norway Prepared for Diplomatic Relations

LD2608015591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The press service of the Republic of Latvia Foreign Ministry reports that an official telegram has arrived from Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg. The telegram says that Norway is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Latvia.

Estonian, Lithuanian Independence Recognized

LD2308215791 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Latvian parliament has today passed declarations recognizing Estonia's and Lithuania's declarations of independence and expressing its readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the two neighboring countries.

Gorbunovs Statements on Trip to Moscow

Previews Talks With Yeltsin

LD2408150591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1004 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Here is an announcement from Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, made before his departure to Moscow. Deputies Janis Dinevics, Ojars Kehris, Vladlen Dozortsev, and Einars Silinskis are also going to Moscow. A meeting is planned with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The announcement is in Latvian and Russian.

[Begin Gorbunovs recording] Esteemed residents of Latvia: The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia has adopted many very important laws and resolutions this week. The most important of them is the constitutional law on the sovereign status of the Republic of Latvia, which declares the full independence of the

Republic of Latvia. In this regard we have addressed to all the states, parliaments and governments of the world with an appeal to recognize our independence de facto and de jure.

Yesterday a resolution was adopted on the unconstitutional activity of the Communist Party of Latvia in the Republic of Latvia, which includes a juridical assessment of this activity, the future ownership of its property, and the responsibility of those persons who openly supported the unconstitutional coup attempt in Latvia and the Soviet Union.

In this regard I address to all residents of Latvia with an appeal, in this complicated period, to maintain self-control above all, not to let emotions rule them, and above all not to take unconsidered actions, because this can only do very great damage to our path to full independence, our membership of Europe, and the formation of a democratic—the main thing, democratic—society in Latvia.

I want to stress that none of the adopted or planned resolutions of the Latvian parliament in these days was directed at settling accounts with the political opponents of the People's Front of Latvia faction. If the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia has called to account, and will in the coming days determine that some public or state organization, or some particular official is to be called to trial, then these resolutions are and will continue to be judicially (?weighed), and in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Latvia.

No extraordinary commission of the Republic of Latvia has been formed. There are no lists of political persecutees, and none will be drawn up. The resolution on the nationalization of the property of the Communist Party of Latvia was adopted in full accordance with the competence of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. The calling to account of Alfreds Rubiks on criminal charges, the question of his people's deputies to the Republic of Latvia, and the status of the USSR people's deputies were carefully analyzed, and from the standpoint of the law of the Republic of Latvia, in particular the constitutional law of the Republic of Latvia on the sovereign status of the Republic of Latvia, and no violations of deputies' immunity are to be allowed; they are not allowed here and will not be allowed in the future either.

I can promise that in strict accordance with the laws of the Republic of Latvia, the question of the individual press publications, the work of public organizations during the days of the August coup attempt will be considered.

We will devote great attention, too, to the attitudes of individual local administrations toward the lawful government of the Republic of Latvia in these days. Not a single people's deputy of the Republic of Latvia will be called to account if a demand by the investigative and legal institutions contravenes the laws of the Republic of Latvia on the requirements for the status of people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia.

For all of us, the Republic of Latvia, the principles of democracy and legality must be sacred, and I strongly appeal to all of you to observe them too, and to take them into account in your activities. [The same announcement follows in Russian] [end recording]

Returns to Riga, Reviews Goals

LD2508213391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Remarks by Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs at Riga Airport on 25 August on return from Moscow—recorded]

[Text] The main purpose of our meeting was that we wanted to discuss the principles on which our future relations will be based—relations between the Republic of Latvia and those USSR institutions of power. That is one question. Another question is the joint collaboration to eliminate the consequences of the putsch. Here, perhaps, one could list the very specific questions we discussed, very briefly of course, and on which we reached agreement. The first aim, we said, is in connection with the active collaboration of the commander of the Baltic Military District, Fedor Kuzmin, in the overthrow of the state. We asked for his dismissal from the post he holds here, from the command of the Baltic Military District. We hope that this request of ours is fulfilled, because such an agreement was reached in speaking about this question with the new defense minister.

The second, as you know, greatly alarms us, the question that alarms all the residents of Latvia, the activity of the OMON. Here one can speak specifically, one can state the following: None of the above mentioned USSR institutions of power here in Latvia, those three departments, will offer any assistance to the OMON, but, on the other hand, they will do everything to see that the activity of the OMON in Latvia ceases. We considered the question of the Republic of Latvia immediately having to be given back the property and weapons that were illegally confiscated during the coups by USSR units in January and August. This question, too, was settled positively. But of course, we were not able to discuss the question of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia having adopted a resolution on the elimination of the State Security Committee of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Referring to this resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, we agreed that tomorrow or the day after a group of representatives, or a delegation, of the USSR State Security Committee will arrive here to settle, together with authorized representatives of the Republic of Latvia, the problems created in connection with implementing the resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia on the Security Committee.

Of course, we cannot leave unmentioned some of the long-term questions, again to [word indistinct] from the

side of the Republic of Latvia and that of those USSR institutions of power that function here on the territory of the Republic of Latvia. We spoke briefly about all three, Defense, Internal Affairs and the State Security Committee. We arranged for relations, our relations to be formed, based, on special agreements, preparations and negotiations which will start in the near future. Among these, of course, is an agreement determining the deployment of USSR armed forces in Latvia. This agreement, as you know, we have regarded as one of the main questions in such an agreement, as it could be that the USSR Armed Forces may in no way interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia. It must determine the place of deployment, the duration. It needs to determine both the rights here in Latvia and the obligations of them and their family members.

These, briefly speaking, are the main questions we could very briefly expound to you now.

Gorbunovs on Territorial Defense Registration

LD2408144991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1004 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] We have now received an announcement from the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. So listen:

Command Number One of the commander of the Territorial Defense [Zemessardze] of the Republic of Latvia. In accordance with Article 15, the law of the Republic of Latvia on the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Latvia, I command the commencement of registration for Territorial Defense on the territory of local administrations of the Republic of Latvia.

Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, 24 August 1991.

Legislature Halts KGB, Party Activities

LD2408191991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 24th August. (TASS)—Latvia's parliament today adopted a resolution halting the activities of USSR state security bodies in the republic. These bodies are deprived of their powers of inquiry and investigation. The republic's procuracy is instructed to bring to account those staff of the Latvian SSR KGB in whose actions during the days of the coup d'etat there is corpus delicti. Those not involved in the coup and not guilty before the people of Latvia will be given the opportunity to switch to other work.

The property of the disbanded committee has been handed over to the republic. The KGB's operational archive and files are to be taken over by a specially-created commission of deputies.

The resolution has taken effect from the moment of its adoption and any cooperation with USSR state security bodies which could be prejudicial to Latvia is, after 24 August, deemed to be treason against the republic. The KGB building in Riga has today been put under the guard of a police battalion.

At its meeting today the Latvian Supreme Council halted the activities of the Communist Party of Latvia, Interfront, the United Council of Labor Collectives, the Organization of War and Labor veterans, and the Latvian Komsomol, on the grounds that it thinks these organizations expressed support for the organizers of the coup d'etat.

The deputies also adopted a resolution to the effect that all sites and facilities under union subordination located or registered on the territory of Latvia are the property of the republic and fall under its jurisdiction, unless provision to the contrary exists under interstate treaties.

Those taking part in the plenary meeting greeted with applause the decree from the RSFSR President recognizing the state independence of the Latvian republic.

Building Handed Over Peacefully

LD2308152791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1425 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The building of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party has returned to its lawful owner—the people. This was stated at a news conference in parliament by Deputy Talavs Jundzis, chairman of the Standing Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs. The return of the building passed without bloodshed. The staff of the Central Committee apparatus were allowed to leave the building with their personal possessions.

Agreement Signed in Riga

OW2308165191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A treaty signed in the Riga headquarters of the Latvian Communist Party on Friday transfers that building, as well as the Political Education Center, the Press Building, the LCP [Latvian Communist Party] archive, etc., under the control of the republic's government. The treaty was signed by LCP First Secretary Alfreds Rubiks, Central Committee Secretary Ojars Potreki, and Latvia's State Minister Karlis Lidzis. According to BF's [BALTFAX's] Riga correspondent, A. Rubiks and O. Potreki are kept in the former LCP headquarters under the guard of interior troops.

Commission To Start Takeover

LD2308193291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 0928 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The Supreme Council formed a commission to start taking over Latvian Communist Party property. This commission is headed by Deputy Vilis Seleckis. [passage omitted]

I want to remind you that deputies requested voting results on the adopted resolution on the Latvian Communist Party. Before that, the Ravnopraviye [right-wing opposition] faction declared it would refrain from voting and some of the deputies left the hall. There were 112 deputies in the hall, of which 14 did not vote. The remaining 96 voted for, two against, with no abstentions.

Accounts Frozen

OW2308183991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1658 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following the Latvian Supreme Council's ban on the Latvian Communist Party, the Latvian Council of Ministers has ordered a freeze on all of its accounts in Latvian banks and distribution of money among party organizations suspended.

Communist Party's Rubiks, Potreki Step Down

LD2308162191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1425 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] We have received news that Alfred Rubiks [Latvian Communist Party first secretary] and Ojars Potreki [Latvian Communist Party Central Committee secretary] have both left the Latvian Communist Party. The Supreme Council of the republic has given permission for criminal proceedings to be brought against Alfreds Rubiks.

Rubiks Loses Immunity, Detained

LD2308173791 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 23 TASS—The Latvian parliament today lifted immunity from Alfred Rubiks, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party and people's deputy of the republic, Latvian radio reported.

At 6:00 pm Moscow time, the Latvian prosecutor-general signed a warrant to arrest Rubiks for his association with the plotters.

[Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 23 August, during its regularly scheduled "Vesti" newscast, reports: "We have just been informed that Alfred Rubiks, the leader of the Lavtian Communist Party, was detained today."]

Authorities Arrest Rubiks in Riga

OW2308210691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2026 GMT 23 Aug

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports from Latvia that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, Alfred Rubiks, was arrested in Riga on August 23. A. Rubiks is a People's Deputy of both the USSR and Latvia. However, the Latvian leadership considered that the Union parliamentary immunity is not in force on Latvian territory and the Latvian parliament stripped the leader of the Latvian Communists of his parliamentary immunity. As BF reported earlier, Latvian radio announced on August 23 that Alfred Rubiks had resigned from the CPSU.

Riga OMON Reportedly To Fight 'To the End'

LD2408174891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] According to a report in the newspaper DIENA today, Parfonov, acting commander of the Riga OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], has told the Latvian Republic's deputy minister of internal affairs the following: We realize we are enemies of the Latvian people and that there is nowhere for us to retreat. If any actions are taken against us, we will fight on to the end. The Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs asks all residents and political forces to refrain from actions against the OMON, so as not to provoke bloodshed.

Lenin Monument in Riga Dismantled

LD2508140491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Riga, 25 Aug (TASS)—Last night, according to a decision by the local authorities, the monument to Vladimir Lenin in the center of the capital of Latvia was dismantled.

Two Overnight Explosions Reported

LD2408114291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The Criminal Investigation Administration at the Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that last night, at 0230 [2330 GMT], at Secondary School No. (?224) in Purvciems, there were two explosions, with an interval of three minutes. [word indistinct] There is no material damage. As the Criminal Investigation Administration notes, the explosions at Veckalni are part of the same (?recognizable) series, and of course [word indistinct].

Authorities Report Fires, School Bomb Scare

LD2308161191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 0916 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] According to reports received by a LETA correspondent at the headquarters of the republic's civil defense, last night—23 August—there were six small fires in the republic with no casualties. In Riga, at 0200, a report came in to the militia that the building of Secondary School No. 92, located in [name indistinct], on (Petersons) Street, was mined. Major Nikolay Berezhnoy, deputy chief of the (?Latgale) militia department, told the correspondent that the school was sealed off.

The specialists and militiamen who went there discovered an object which looked like an explosive device, and an investigation of the incident was started.

Main Printing House Returned To Journalists

LD2308234691 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The main newspaper printing house in Riga has today been returned to the journalists. The building, formerly used for printing all the major Latvian newspapers, was seized by the Soviet troops and was handed over to all the communists on 2 January.

Lithuania

Czechoslovak Protocol Approves Lithuanian Bureau

OW2308001391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis received a letter from the President of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel which says that Czechoslovakia had prepared a protocol on creating Lithuania's "Information and Interest Bureau" in Prague, said a press-secretary of the Lithuanian embassy at a briefing.

Landsbergis, Yeltsin Discuss OMON Withdrawal

LD2508170591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The Information Bureau of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania has announced that Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, talked on the phone yesterday and today with the leaders of Russia, Boris Yeltsin and Aleksandr Rutskoy, as well as with new Chief of General Staff Vladimir Lobov. Among other questions, the future of the OMON and members of the OMON was discussed. Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, informed Vytautas Landsbergis today that a decision had been reached in Moscow to withdraw OMON units from the Baltic republics and deploy these units in Russia.

It has been decided that accommodation will be provided for the families of the officers. Rank-and-file OMON troops will be distributed in various units to continue their service.

Landsbergis Holds 25 Aug News Conference

LD2608054491

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1700 GMT on 25 August carries a 35-minute news conference by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. The first 10 minutes of the news conference were unmonitorable. When reception improved, Landsbergis was saying: "On the basis of my conversation with Boris Yeltsin today I can now assure that there are no nuclear missiles in Lithuania." He said this in reponse to the concern expressed by the West that in case all Soviet republics achieved full independence, there would be many states with nuclear weapons. He said that Lithuania had already declared that the Republic of Lithuania would not have nuclear weapons on its soil.

An unidentified French journalist asked if the chairman was aware that France had recognized Lithuania's independence, and asked if Landsbergis had official confirmation of this. Landsbergis said: France confirmed Lithuania's independence in March of last year. "However, now we have news that France together with the European Community is to restore diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania. A representative of the French Foreign Ministry is to arrive here tomorrow."

An English-speaking reporter asked: "Mr. President, I want to ask you about the United States in terms of their dragging their feet in recognizing Lithuania. Is this a disappointment to you? Because it seems as though the Europeans rather then the United States have been the leaders in terms of recognition of Lithuania."

Landsbergis replied in English: "I do not want to look at the past; I want to look at the future. We are looking for the reestablishing of diplomatic relations in a full scale with the United States in a short time. [Words indistinct] because we have our legation in Washington, and it is a very small problem for the United States; and this problem will be resolved, I am sure, next week." He later added: "I am expecting such diplomatic visit of our charge d'affaires Mr. Lozoraitis to the State Department in next days. When the United States will send their representatives to Lithuania is not so very important. The United States never recognized the annexation [by the USSR], and now it would be no reason to not recognize the independent Lithuania when we are really independent."

A journalist asked in Lithuanian if rumors that the issue of Lithuanian independence would be discussed at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 26 August were true. Landsbergis said: "I do not know, and in fact I doubt if this issue has been put on the agenda. However, it is most likely that some groups of democratic deputies could raise this issue. Whether the USSR Supreme Soviet is going to be capable morally and politically of taking this step, it is difficult to say at the moment. However, the issue could be raised." A journalist from Denmark asked for comment on the fact that Denmark has recognized Lithuania's independence and was to establish diplomatic relations. Landsbergis replied: "The position of the Danish Government has been very clear, consistent, honorable, and active all the time. It seems to me that Denmark has also initiated the position of the European Community." Answering a question about his conversation with Boris Yeltsin, he said that certain political problems were discussed including "the recognition of Lithuania on the level of the authorities of the

Soviet Union." Landsbergis said that Russia had recognized Lithuania's independence when signing the interstate treaty some time ago. "I asked Boris Yeltsin about Article Three [in his decree recognizing Latvian and Estonian indepedence] in which he urged Mikhail Gorbachev to take an appropriate step. I understood from B. Yeltsin's reply that President Gorbachev was not yet politically ready for such a step." Following this, Landsbergis said Yeltsin promised that the Lithuanian-Russian treaty would be ratified in Septemeber when the Russian Supreme Soviet resumed its work.

Landsbergis spoke about Soviet officials who will have criminal proceedings launched against them for their participation in the bloody events last January in Vilnius. He also said that Lithuania promised the Russian Government to "prosecute and hand over to the Russian courts those individuals who attempted on the territory of Lithuania to help the organizers of the coup in the Soviet Union." Landsbergis said the Lithuanian Government would not prosecute those in the OMON units who did not commit crimes.

He said in English: "Now we are more protected and more sure that the great breakdown and bloodshed will not happen."

When asked about the problem of the continuing presence of Soviet troops in Lithuania, Landsbergis answered that "the new military leadership of the Soviet Union as well as the Russian leadership requested us not to rush this question, which no doubt will be solved." He said that specifically this was asked concerning the problem of the military commissariats. "Today I received a request and telegrams asking me not to rush this matter until a more detailed agreement is reached on how these commissariats will be handed over." He said he was concerned about Lithuanian young people still serving in the Soviet Army, and that they should be returned to Lithuania as soon as possible.

Landsbergis Announces Border Deployment

LD2408202291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] On 26 August, Lithuanian border police and consular service officials will stand next to the Soviet border personnel located there. This was announced by the parliament Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis in his speech on the political situation, during this morning's extraordinary session.

Initially, this will take place at Vilnius Airport; Klaipeda Airport; and at Lazdijai, near the highway to Poland.

Although this gesture is also symbolic, it is significant within the process of international recognition of the independence of Lithuania.

The speaker observed that the corresponding departments in Moscow are positively inclined toward resolving this and other questions concerning Lithuania.

Government Announces Takeover of Communist Party

LD2508163191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The Government of Lithuania announces that between 22 and 25 August the activity of the USSR KGB, the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the military commissariats, and the military Commandant offices was stopped. The buildings and property of these institutions is being taken over. A division of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs troops has been withdrawn from Vilnius. All the USSR military and militarized formations have been transferred to their permanent place of deployment. The above USSR military units have been instructed to inform the local governments and the Government of the Republic of Lithuania about the movement of the military equipment or any other kind of troop movement on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

It must be pointed out that law and order in the Republic of Lithuania is being restored by the organs for the protection of law and order. Everything is being carried out only in accordance with the law, in an organized way and without violating the rights of the people who had been working for the above USSR institutions.

On 26 August at midnight the Republic of Lithuania is taking over the USSR customs houses which are on the territory of Lithuania and introducing the visa system of the Republic of Lithuania. Until the corresponding agreements with the Soviet Union are signed the Lithuanian border will be controlled by a joint force of border guards of the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR .

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania declares that at present the government is in full control of the situation in Lithuania and is in control of the state borders.

Officials To Probe 'Anticonstitutional' Activities

LD2308232391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1925 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] A Government Decree:

In compliance with the 22 August 1991 Resolution by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania concerning the Salcininkai Rayon Council Presidium and the Snieckus residential area of Ignalina Rayon Council Presidium's anticonstitutional activity, the following have been temporarily appointed, allowing for the investigation of the activity of these councils, officials and their organs: Arunas Egirdas, as the authorized government representative of the Republic of Lithuania, to head the municipal organs of Salcininkai; Algimantas Lapenas, as the authorized representative of the government of the Republic of Lithuania, to head the Snieckus residential area of Ignalina Rayon municipal administrative organs.

The government representatives must ensure adherence to the constitution and the law of the Republic of Lithuania, and to carry out within the corresponding territory the vital function of the state administrative organs. They have the right to dismiss, or relieve of their duties, prior to the term's expiration, any appointed or confirmed officials of the administration, or its sections, should they fail to follow the laws of the Republic of Lithuania or the decisions of the government of the Republic of Lithuania, or if they grossly violate them. The government representatives can also abolish or change illegal decisions of the administrative organs, and directly supervise the activity of enterprises, offices and organizations allotted to the municipal regulation area.

Military Units Asked To Report Suspects

LD2408235191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has asked the commander of the Soviet garrison stationed in Vilnius, Mr. Frolov, to withdraw until [as heard] six pm all military equipment from the Lithuanian police academy occupied by the Black Berets' special Soviet Interior unit in January. The commander of the Soviet Interior troops stationed in Lithuania, Mironenko, was asked to free the police academy premises as of six pm today. The Soviet military units should also hand over the leaders of the local Communist hardliners who supported the coup and are now suspected of hiding in the Soviet military base in Vilnius, to the Lithuanian chief prosecutor's office. Refusal to do so will be considered as giving support to the putschists.

Garrison Commanded To Hand Over 'Criminals'

LD2608092991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 26 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 26 Aug (TASS)—Lithuanian Procurator General Arturas Paulauskas appealed to USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to instruct the Vilnius garrison command to hand over to the republic's law enforcement bodies Mykolas Burokiavicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Algimantas Naudziunas, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary; Juozas Yermalavicius, head of the ideological department of the Lithuanian Communist Party; and other Lithuanian Communist Party leaders, who, according to the Lithuanian procurator general, "are dangerous state criminals" and who are now allegedly on the territory of this garrison.

Procuracy Letter on Supporting 'State Criminals'

LD2608101191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The Lithuanian General Procuracy sent the USSR defense minister a letter today. It reads, in part: On the night of 22-23 August, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee members Burokevicius, Naudziunas, and others who actively supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency were taken from the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee building in armored personnel carriers by Vilnius garrison servicemen, who, in this way, helped dangerous state criminals go into hiding. When the procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania demanded that state criminals Burokevicius and Naudziunas be handed over, Colonel Frolov, chief of Vilnius garrison, refused to do this. We appeal to you to instruct Col. Frolov, chief of the Vilnius garrison, to hand over the state criminals and the material evidence which could help the investigation. This was a letter to the USSR defense minister by Arturas Paulauskas, procurator general of the Republic of Lithuania.

Government Cautions Against Propert Transfer

LD2508114291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] The following is information from the Government Press Bureau:

[Announcer] For the attention of city and rayon local authorities.

In compliance with the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic decision dated August 24, 1991 concerning the former USSR military commissariats, and also complying with a Supreme Council decision dated the same day on the former USSR military command's buildings and other property transfers, the government of the Lithuanian Republic is currently preparing correponding decrees. Until such time as the government decrees have been adopted, we request that you do not initiate any willful actions of transferring any of the military commissariat or command office buildings or property.

We will inform municipal authorities without delay regarding the adoption of a government decree.

The government of the Republic of Lithuania also appeals to the Lithuanian people (?urging) them not to assemble near the former Soviet military commissariats or military command buildings, in order to avoid conflict situations.

KGB Agrees to 30-Day 'Transitional Period'

Vaisvila Signs Protocol

LD2508005991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Following overnight talks between the Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister, Zigmas Vaisvila, and Deputy, Chief of the Soviet KGB, Valeriy Lebedev, an agreement protocol was signed. The protocol is based on the principle of Lithuanian sovereignty and acknowledges the interests of Soviet security. Therefore, a transitional

period of 30 days is being established. The KGB will not carry out any activities aimed against the Republic of Lithuania. Lithuania guarantees the inviolability of the KGB buildings and property on the territory of Lithuania. All property and employment issues will be resolved by a concordance group set up by the Lithuanian Government and the KGB authorities.

The Lithuanian Government has already passed a resolution on social rehabilitation of the employees of the Soviet Defense and Interior Ministries and the KGB subunits, and on social guarantees for their family members. However, the rehabilitation principle will not be applied to those persons who have committed serious crimes.

More on Transition

LD2508075991 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 25 TASS—On Monday, Lithuania will start protecting its western borders and exercise border zone regime, including visa issue and control, reads a resolution passed by the republican parliament on Saturday.

The parliament also decided to set up a deputy commission for investigating the activities of the Soviet KGB in Lithuania.

Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila and Soviet KGB Deputy Chairman V. Lebedev have ended talks on issues concerning KGB activities in the Republic and signed a corresponding protocol.

The sides have come to a compromise, agreeing that Soviet KGB structures will act in the Republic during a transitional period before they are disbanded. The length of the transitional period was not determined in the protocol.

During the transitional period, a joint commission will work, including representatives of the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet KGB. The commission is expected to deal with KGB documents and facilities and ensuring social and other guarantees to people working in the committee and its structures.

Vaisvila, Lebedev on USSR Security Forces

Seek To Reduce Tension

LD2408125191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] On 23-24 August, Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Lithuania Zigmas Vaisvila held a meeting with Lebedev, the deputy chairman of the Soviet Union's Security Committee, and Kondrashov, senior consultant of the chairman of the Soviet Union's Security Committee.

During the course of the meeting a discussion was held of questions regarding the fate of the USSR Security Committee section functioning on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

The exchange was marked by goodwill and efforts were made to resolve without delay the pressing problems that are disturbing both sides. This helped to reduce the increasing tension and to soften the atmosphere of mistrust.

The meeting demonstrated that any other questions may be resolved in the future on the basis of bilateral trust and taking into account bilateral interests.

During the course of the meeting, Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila and Lebedev, the Deputy Chief of the USSR Security Committee, signed an agreement between the Lithuanian Government and the USSR Security Committee. Both sides expressed the hope that all segments of the Lithuanian Republic's population will approve the reached agreement.

Thus, in turn, we wish to request that the Vilniusites—especially the Vilniusites—do not assemble outside the State Security Committee unit's building in Lithuania on Gediminas Prospect. Now, especially, do not initiate any type of willful actions that might complicate the situation.

End to Hostile Activity Urged

LD2308234491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1925 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] An appeal by the Government to the USSR Security Committee Unit staff members in Lithuania: The government of the Republic of Lithuania appeals to those USSR State Security Committee Unit staff members in Lithuania who did not agree with the military putch and did not support it, and whose consciences are not burdened by spilled human blood. The Republic of Lithuania has restored its statehood and is seeking to reinforce it by democratic means.

The USSR military putch—one leader was Kryuchkov, Chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, and whose organizers had hoped to again enslave Lithuania and to (?inflict) other [word indistinct] crimes.

We call on the USSR Security Committee Unit staff members to make a choice and to discontinue without delay, all activity hostile to Lithuania.

In this connection the government of the Republic of Lithuania, by a Decree of 23 August of this year, has formed a coordinating commission to deliberate questions concerning the USSR State Security Committee Unit in Lithuania.

The government of the Republic of Lithuania declares that a voluntary renunciation of harmful activity, terminating service with the USSR State Security Committee and also not having spilled any human blood will be [word indistinct] from discrimination or persecution.

Government Promises Protection of Rights

LD2608012791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Government of Lithuanian declares that the policy of the government has been and remains peaceful, and that the government will always unconditionally respect people's liberties and rights regardless of their nationality or political convictions.

Some evil-minded or frightened individuals are disseminating various fabrications saying that the Republic of Lithuania Government would turn away from people of nationalities other than Lithuanian, and that members of communist or left-wing parties and organizations will be persecuted. Some are making attempts to spread rumors about the necessity to resist the possible harsh treatment.

The Republic of Lithuania Government once again resolutely declares that our society, which is setting up a state governed by law and order, our nations, is not vindictive, and that the persons who committed crimes can only be tried by the courts of law. The people of the republic have not and will not be discriminated against for their political convictions or because they are of a different nationality. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Releases Privates From Army Service

LD2608015891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Speaking on Lithuanian TV tonight, the Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vytautas Landsbergis said that he had reached an agreement with the newly appointed chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Headquarters, Vladimir Lobov, that young Lithuanian privates of the Soviet Army will be released from obligatory service and allowed to go home. Their security is guaranteed.

Lenin Statues in Vilnius, Klaipeda Dismantled

LD2408204991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The symbols and bastions of Soviet power in Lithuania are collapsing with unbelievable speed. At 6:42 in the afternoon today the monument to Lenin in the central square of Vilnius was dismantled to the cheers of a huge crowd. Somewhat earlier, at 3:00 pm, the monument to Lenin was taken down in the port city of Klaipeda where it had been for nearly a year guarded by armored personnel carriers.

Ban on USSR Newspapers Rescinded

LD2308215291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1925 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] A report by the Government Press Bureau:

The publication and dissemination of USSR newspapers publishing the putchist documents [word indistinct] order has been temporarily suspended in accordance with order No. 16, issued per the order of chief of the Press Control Administration of the Republic of Lithuania, dated 21 August 1991.

Following a change in the political situation, the order prohibiting the publication and dissemination of Soviet newspapers is rescinded in accordance with order No. 17, dated 22 August 1991, and order No. 18, dated 23 August 1991, issued by the chief of the Press Control Administration.

Landsbergis Addresses 'Black Ribbon Day' Rally

LD2408172291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Thousands upon thousands of people attended today's mass rally held outside the Lithuanian Parliament building to mark the Black Ribbon Day, for it was exactly 52 years ago when Ribbentrop and Molotov signed the notorious Soviet-German pact that sealed the fate of the three Baltic States. The rally was opened by the chairman of the Sajudis movement, Juozas Tumelis. He said that this is only the beginning of a long and difficult road ahead of us all.

The people met with long ovations the Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vytautas Landsbergis.

[Begin Landsbergis recording in Lithuanian fading to English translation] Dear free citizens of a free land. The day that was awaited for has finally come. We do not have any hesitations that it will come since injustice and wrong cannot last forever. I remember the birth of Sajudis and the first sounds of the Lithuanian national hymn, but even then, deep in our hearts, we were sure that we will be free. This strong belief in Lithuania helped us to hold out at times of grief and sorrow, on 13 January in Vilnius and on 31 July at the Medininkai border post. We walked in long mourning processions to bury those who died for Lithuanian independence. The past three years are full of historic moments and events, and today nobody doubts that Lithuania is an independent State. [end recording]

Vytautas Landsbergis spoke of those countries that recognize Lithuania's independence. The first was Moldova, next were Estonia and Latvia. The Foreign Minister of Iceland gave Lithuania his support during the black January days. These countries were followed by Denmark and Russia.

According to the Lithuanian parliamentary leader, Lithuania witnessed the birth of democratic Russia. Mr. Landsbergis said that there are many signs that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia will be recognized soon. He noted that tomorrow the Ukrainian Supreme Council is going to discuss its independence, then we are going to have Russia, Moldova, the Ukraine and Armenia on our side.

This day was awaited by all. Still, it came rather unexpectedly. There are people who cannot take in the events of today. Mr. Landsbergis called on the people to retain their dignity. All of us should be united by the feeling of common fate, and we should hold on to each other. Mr. Landsbergis also called on the people not to resort to disgraceful activities. He noted that Soviet Interior units were already withdrawing from Lithuania. At present the fate of the KGB and the black berets is being decided.

At 8.30 p.m. the Independence Square resounded with the Estonian hymn, for at this time fires were being lit in Estonia. The blazing fire trail once again united Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in the Baltic Way. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia scanned the people in the square. The chairman of the Sajudis movement, Juozas Tumelis, read out the joint statement of the Lithuanian Sajudis and the Popular Fronts of Latvia and Estonia demanding to abolish the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and recognize Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as free and independent states. Mr. Tumelis said that Russia can be proud of Boris Yeltsin, just like Lithuania can be proud of Vytautas Landsbergis.

In his speech, Virgilijus Cepaitis, leader of the Independence Party and an MP as well, noted that today was the first day with a feeling of real independence hovering in the air. August 23, the Black Ribbon Day, turned out to be a day of victory and joy. Today the return of Lithuania to the independent world community has become very real indeed.

Foreign MP's, participants of the three-day interparliamentary conference held in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius, also spoke at today's rally. A representative of Iceland's Independence Party told the rally participants that the leaders of the three Baltic States are invited to Reykjavik for an official restoration of diplomatic relations with Iceland.

Mass rallies marking the Black Ribbon Day were also held in Riga and Tallinn.

Bakatin Addresses Supreme Soviet 21 Aug

LD2308234191 Moscow Central Television Vostock Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1238 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Speech by USSR presidential aide Vladimir Viktorovich Bakatin at the 21 August session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet from the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Most esteemed People's Deputies of Russia: I ask your forgiveness for speaking in such an impromptu manner. I have come straight from the road, literally, having returned on the Leningrad Chaussee after a call to my car by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I have come here to deal with a very specific issue. I have been told that an accord has been reached between the President of Russia and Comrade Kryuchkov, the chairman of the KGB, that the KGB chairman should speak here at the session, and on a proposal that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin should fly with him to the Crimea. I consider this to be impermissable, and I want to propose myself as a candidate to fly with Kryuchkov, without any preconditions. I understand that the issue has already been resolved here, therefore, taking account of the constructive, dynamic and businesslike atmosphere in which the session is taking place, I find myself in a somewhat awkward situation because I feel that perhaps some profound assessments should be prepared here. I have no such assessments, apart from one: Like you, or at least the overwhelming majority of you, I absolutely will not accept the unlawful actions that have been committed in the country by these people, the so- called USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency, who have taken upon themselves this colossal responsibility and who have created a colossal danger for the people. We must struggle against these illegal actions. This is indisputable. Believe me, as a citizen and, in this case, as an official—although they have described me as an aide, perhaps I am now a member of the Security Council who has been removed and who has ceased his activity—but I do not agree with this, although we do not have any real levers of power at present.

We have great respect for the courageous actions now being conducted by the Russian leadership, the body of deputies, and those Muscovites of which you yourselves have been speaking a great deal today,—and speaking correctly.

I wish to say one thing: that the whole complexity of this struggle, against illegal actions, against anticonstitutional actions, lies in not increasing the danger of bloodshed and not providing the possibility of a civil war being unleashed. These first three unfortunate victims cannot be atoned for with any condolences. If there are new victims, then no one will forgive anyone, as they say, and neither will history. In the near future, perhaps in some months' time, we will have sorted everything out and an appraisal will be made of everyone from the point of view of normal law. This is totally obvious. But it is our task today, nevertheless, to struggle against the illegal actions without increasing this danger. I believe that you share this position also, as I understand after being here for some time, and I support it. Therefore, I do not wish to spend time now on rhetoric, to brand people with shame, and so on. All that is pointless.

I have specific proposals. The first is that the equipment, the armored equipment, and the troops be removed from the cities—not just from Moscow. I believe that some possibility has appeared here. I do not know—it needs to be verified—but as I was travelling here, I received information that the Collegium of the Ministry of Defense appears to have adopted such a decision, but I am afraid to believe this. If this is so, then the Army has nevertheless shown that it does not wish to act against its own people, as it were, and the honor of the Army, the honor of an officer is more precious to them than, shall we say, some political ambitions. Perhaps this ought to be verified. But we must hammer at this point and continue to demand peacefully that the soldiers depart. There are various forms of this. That is certainly the first thing.

The second is the president of the USSR. I know precisely and absolutely that on Sunday, at least, he was healthy, if you do not count radiculitis as an illness. Two days ago they gave him pain relief treatment but I think that radiculitis can never be cured. You have to live with it until you die. These are not grounds to remove him. Therefore, you should not fly to the President of the USSR. We must send an airplane to get him. The whole point is precisely that he is in isolation in the Crimea. He has been isolated. Essentially, this is an illegal act, it is an arrest, a house arrest or a Crimean arrest—whatever you would like to call it. This is the detention of the legitimate president in isolation. This illegal act must be brought to an end. Gorbachev must be brought back. He must be given an opportunity at least to speak publicly in any auditorium. That is the second thing. The Russian president's actions on this and his agreement with Kryuchkov, if it is not broken—I can see that Kryuchkov has not come here, therefore there is already some danger of it being violated—must continue. I simply do not know. A delegation has already been formed, but I do not believe that two are necessary, both Silayev and Rutskoy. One person alone is enough, and one of them should be replaced by Primakov who is also prepared to fly there, again without any preconditions.

The third specific proposal—I am finishing—is that believe that we must bring this whole process back from this reciprocal tension, from automatic rifles on one side and automatic rifles on the other, although these are anticonstitutional deeds, but we can return to a constitutional course. In what way? Today there was a proposal by Popov that the USSR Supreme Soviet be invited here. I do not know. I had a proposal to appeal to them. It is very important that this session, which is being intensively prepared so that somehow it can once again be manipulated to somehow legalize these illegal actions, it is very important that the deputies of the Union should

in this case—I do not want to use lofty words—should understand their responsibility and in the end condemn and not give legitimacy to this illegal action. Certainly, the meaning of your work should consist precisely in deputies on this level and deputies of the Union and the territories. It is all the same, as a matter of fact; there is no point in drawing a distinction. Working on this level, whether they are invited here, whether they make an appeal, or whether it is both together, the session must be conducted in such a way that it should fail and should not substantiate all the illusions and hopes of those who wish to legalize these actions through the constitution. In my opinion, this is the main direction.

Once again, I ask you to excuse me for my impromptu speech. Perhaps these proposals are insufficiently wide-ranging, but these are three specific proposals as a minimum which, taking as a point of departure the real situation existing today, could be taken on board.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Supreme Soviet Calls Special Session

91UN2493C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Decree of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet: On Convening an Extraordinary Session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] During the night of 18-19 August the political situation in our country changed radically as a result of an anticonstitutional coup.

In keeping with the USSR Constitution, a state of emergency could be introduced by the USSR Supreme Soviet or the USSR president with the agreement of the republic, or, in the absence of such agreement, by a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the overall number of its members. Because, with the introduction of the state of emergency, the USSR Constitution was violated, the actions of the so-called emergency committee are a coup d'etat.

The normal functioning of the constitutional organs of power of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] was called into question.

In the existing situation the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To convene an extraordinary session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 21 August at 1100 in the RSFSR House of Soviets with the agenda "On the Political Situation in the RSFSR Which Has Developed as a Result of the Coup d'Etat."

2. The execution of the decisions of the so-called emergency committee will be regarded as participation in the commission of a state crime, with all the ensuing consequences.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow, RSFSR House of Soviets

Yeltsin's Opening Speech

LD2308133991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Introductory speech by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed guests. I once again congratulate you on the victory over the forces of reaction and the organizers of the putsch—the coup d'etat. I announce that all its main participants have been arrested, and they will be brought to trial accordingly.

Today, together with the president of the country—and then the two of us, and then with the nine—we discussed questions of personnel and the basis... at least the main directions of these personnel questions were solved. First, by agreement, and then with the support of the nine. I think I will say no more in my introduction. I pass the floor to the president of the country, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [calls from the floor] But this is not a session! This is a meeting with deputies. You have gotten too used to the rhythm of the session! Attention, please!

Gorbachev Address

LD2308171991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1308 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Well, I will begin by saying what I have already tried to say during these days, while comprehending all that has happened and assessing who was doing what during these days: To my tribute to the position of the Russian Federation.

I will start with this, because above all it was the people of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] in the huge masses, and the Supreme Soviet, which is expressing the interests and the will of the RSFSR's people and the government, who stood united and solidly in the way of the conspirators. I would like to single out especially the outstanding role of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia, in these events, something I do on the basis of an assessment that is based on the realities of everything that happened. [standing ovation]

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I was always convinced—convinced when it was demanded of me, in terms of an ultimatum, that I

hand over the powers of president to the vice president, or announce my resignation to save the fatherland—that this adventurism would not succeed, that the adventurists would suffer defeat, and that their fate would be that of criminals who were pushing the country and the people at a most difficult period, a time of trials and a search for new forms, toward a catastrophe. Thank God that things have turned out as they have, because the plans were far-reaching: Above all, to strike a blow against the vanguard democratic forces which bear responsibility for the democratic changes in the country and are holding on to this, despite all the upheavals, difficulties, and problems. That was what the plot was. An element of this blackmail, regarding the president of the country, was a report that the Russian president had already been arrested. [pause, for voices heard in hall] What? The president of Russia. Yeltsin had already been arrested, or would be arrested. That was I how I understood it, on the way, or moving around, returning from a trip, and so on.

In other words, the calculation was this—to strike a blow, to isolate the president of the country if he did not agree to cooperate with these reactionary forces, and to isolate the president of the Russian Federation.

Their miscalculation lay in a basic thing. We consider that despite all the difficulties and the fact that we are experiencing the most difficult burdens, we think that the majority of our people...[pauses] we consider that our society over these six years has become different. It is capable of pooling together, by coordinating and interacting, to move out, to overcome these difficulties, and to move out onto a broad path of continuing reform and transforming toward a new society.

They were thinking that the Soviet Union was on the brink of destruction and disintegration, that the national catastrophe was imminent, and that people would support them. This was the main miscalculation of the consipiracy organizers. People did not support them; the Army, although it was pushed, did not go along with it. Besides, more facts are coming into our possession which show that people refused to comply with the forces on which they were especially relying, the special forces for combatting terrorism—those being sent to strike a blow so they could first of all deprive the democratic process of its leadership. The Armed Forces, even those which came out, were withdrawn, came into contact with the working people, took a principle...[changes thought] This was practically to a man, the soldiers, officers, the main mass of the people. [shouts in the audience: "We know this already"]

Therefore their reckoning that they would meet with support, that the hardships would help them implement their tasks and achieve their aims, did not come true. This was the main reason for their defeat. Reasons, you say reasons. The reasons are that we have reached a stage in the development of society when it is already clear that everything must change—authority, the federation, the economy, attitudes to ownership and the status of the individual. From there onward there will already be another society in which there will be no place for these reactionary forces. Therefore, this was adventurism, the last attempt to get their own back, to try and halt this progressive process, to intercept by any means, and seize power. When they told me that a committee was being formed, I asked what kind of committee, and who had created it. [shouts from the hall: "When did you say this?" "How and when?"] I will tell you now. Well, do you want me to repeat what I said yesterday, or did you not hear? [voice from the hall: "Let us hear how we will be living from now on"]

Furthermore, I think that we must not change the course we have adopted, but proceed further along it. That is the first thing.

Second, to conduct this course successfully, we need a powerful regrouping of political forces. We need reliable structures of power and a placement of forces, of cadres, that would ensure the continuation of these reforms. We have begun it. Already over the past few hours today, in those areas where there could be a danger, decisions have been made.

I have just...[changes thought] In connection with the known events in Moscow, Boris Nikolayevich left earlier, and within the framework of the meeting of nine-plus-one we discussed our approaches on these issues. We solved the issue regarding the minister of defense—we endorsed Shaposhnikov, the former Air Force commander. [applause] We solved the issue regarding endorsing the chairman of the State Security Committee, and we endorsed Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin. [applause] We endorsed Comrade Barannikov as USSR minister of internal affairs—your minister. [applause]

We have made a number of decisions on transferring the subordination of those forces which should be alongside the president of the country, alongside the president of the Russian Federation, alongside the main leadership, which is devoted to the continuation of all the democratic transformations. Decrees have been adopted.

We have also created a mechanism—this is a lesson learned from the present situation—whereby if one or the other should be in such a situation that he cannot even issue instructions, as did happen, these rights and duties would automatically be taken on by the other. [applause]

Just now we need to solve questions connected to the functioning of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. My opinion is this: In its majority, the composition of this Cabinet, in one way or another, in one form or another...so far as I know there are two instances—one is not in doubt, another is accompanied by certain doubts—when people refused to carry out the plotters' line. Minister of Culture Gubenko resigned, and refused to cooperate with the committee, and spoke in the cabinet against this line, as I have been told. But I have to clarify all this, because in the last hour information has been received which says that it was not quite like

this. Nevertheless, for the time being, I say that in one way or another Shcherbakov, Vladimir Ivanovich, occupied a critical position. [dissent in the hall]

No? Doris Nikolayevich...[continued dissent in the hall, Gorbachev is offered a document by Yeltsin]

[Yeltsin] Just a minute.

[Gorbachev] Doris Nikolayevich, when we met just now, gave me a short account of the Cabinet of Ministers session, but I have not read it yet.

[Yeltsin] Read it out. [laughter, applause]

[Gorbachev] Yes, you reminded me that Comrade Primakov told me that Vorontsov, Nikolai, deputy chairman, had precisely and clearly stated his negative position regarding the decisions of the committee. [applause] Yeltsin says:

[Yeltsin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, read out this document. It is a stenographic record of the Union Cabinet of Ministers session on the 19th at 1800, the time when the storming of the House of Soviets was to have begun.

[Gorbachev] I will do it in a minute. I will finish my thought. I will read it with you. I have not read it yet either.

I had received conflicting information about the minister of foreign affair's behavior. By this morning I had more information to the effect that he, at least, either was maneuvering or failed to take a clear-cut position. I have released him from his duties as minister of foreign affairs. [applause]

I am talking about Bessmertnykh, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich. [commotion in hall] So I think that it will be the right approach for us—this government should resign in its full composition. [outburst of applause] Today, when we were exchanging opinions in the framework of the nine, we had to approach particularly carefully the formation of the Cabinet, so as to take into consideration competence, allegiance, political positions, and allegiance to democracy. The course is toward changes, and the representation, first and foremost, of the republics, so that this is a cabinet which is representative, effective, and working—because, to put it in general terms, we have much work to do.

Perhaps even today, and even more so tomorrow, we must tackle matters more quickly, because that is what the people are expecting. I will come back to this again, however; I must finish the first part.

Therefore—I will read it out—therefore, I—there are questions, so I will read all this out right away—therefore, we agreed, having exchanged opinions just now, to work out a proposal to formulate a unified approach to this. As Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev said yesterday, so that there would on this occasion not be any—what did you call them?—riff-raff [cries from hall: "scum!"] Well, in my opinion, they are one and the same!

Thus, the most important guarantee is, first, a continuation of the course toward change, and a corresponding structure of power that is capable of taking responsibility.

Second, we must proceed, and more quickly, to the Union treaty, because generally it is precisely the signing of a new Union treaty, despite all the criticism of it from different sides—and the date for signing it was set—this is what whipped up all the reactionary forces to attempt this putsch, as they know what the new treaty is all about, and what the consequences of this new treaty are.

Now when we spoke—the opinion of all republics is especially important to everyone. We must be together during these difficult times, as we were before—this is the main obstacle. One may criticize the weaknesses of the Ogarevo process, and I think they really exist, and we know about them, and their agreement to cooperate still leaves much to be desired—this is a mechanism which has not yet been formed, but it is needed. We are on the right path. If we did not have it, we would have found ourselves defenseless during this dramatic moment.

That is why all republics, all leaders of the republics—they were all present—advocated that we should now cooperate together, within the framework of a single Union, especially regarding socioeconomic issues, to tackle the crisis tasks faster.

A problem, the real problem of survival, lies before us. You just have to look at what the so-called committee started with, what it played on, and what it started to offer. It was what the governments of republics were engaged in recently, the elaboration of a food program to survive until a new harvest; what to do about heating so that people would not find themselves without warmth; and how to make finances more stable to open the way to economic transformations more quickly. All this is being examined now. A Council of the Federation session was set for the 21st to tackle these very difficult issues.

We are faced with the fact that we are going to have to do unpopular things. This we have to do. All the leaders of the republics are for this. Well, to conclude my line of thought about the structures, I think we will have to carry through, also in the Supreme Soviet which will assemble, the necessary changes so that the Supreme Soviet of the Union might operate along the lines of what has been manifested and revealed in these decisive days, in these days of tragic events. [voices in the hall] I think—I think—I tried to say this yesterday, and I will say it again now: We must act in such a way to distinguish ourselves from the putschists, from all the company of blackguards, and demonstrate that we have the courage to stand firm. We have the courage to call everyone to task with the greatest severity. Incidentally, Boris Nikolayevich and I have come to an agreement today, and we are supported by all the republics, that a single investigative team is to be set up, comprising

investigators from the USSR and the RSFSR, which will investigate under the aegis of the two procurators. [pauses until noise in hall dies down] They will report on that, and we will inform you and the Supreme Soviet of the country on how that process is going... [more noise] the subject, approach, I—do not make my task more difficult than it is already. Do not make it more difficult. I think that by demonstrating precisely such an approach, we must show our maturity and the achievements we have made.

You will say that they raised their hand against us, wanting to make mincemeat of us, to destroy us. Yes. That is all now clear. Those who raised their hands against the constitutional order, against the constitutional bodies and the people, should bear the strictest responsibility for that. There can be no wavering and no forgiveness of any sort on this. But it should be according to the law, and we should be balanced, firm, and responsible, so that neither from us, nor from anyone else—in other words, not only from the Supreme Soviet, or from someone or somewhere else—should there come a demand which could be interpreted as meaning that we are opening a witch hunt here.

We know who began this, and what it has cost. We must—we are taking that path, firmly. We will solve all the questions, and make such decisions as the situation and the law demand. I think you will agree with that. [indistinct voices from hall] If you are not going to...[pauses] But I think you understand. For me, for example, some questions are clear, absolutely clear.

[Voice from hall: "Gently, Gently! Not so fast, comrades"]

[Yeltsin] Be calm, be calm.

[Gorbachev] Not so fast.

[Yeltsin] There will be answers to your questions later.

[Gorbachev] The USSR Supreme Soviet will meet on the 26th. I think that many of you—or at least, you will delegate some from among you—will take part. We will invite all leaders—at least, as best I know, since it is not my prerogative—leaders of all the republics and the Supreme Soviet will examine the situation and all the lessons from it. We will then make a judgment on the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet of the country consists of deputies just like you, elected by the people [shouts from the hall: "please do not, please do not"] I think the USSR Supreme Soviet will be up to the task and will make the necessary decisions. I am sure that there will be no differences between the decisions. [as heard] I am convinced of this. The fact that Supreme Soviet has today turned up somewhere, that everything has been done not to let it in here—yet I think that many of them are already here, and are taking part, and you know them.

In any case, do not be in a hurry to pass judgment, especially not on the USSR Supreme Soviet. I believe that there are people there who are answerable, and they must answer, but you show maturity, and it will become clear. It is to sit in two days' time.

This is the third thought. Now when Boris Nikolayevich was absent, comrades asked me to say that all republics, as in those troubled days, having taken a firm stand and having supported Russia when...[interrupted by noise in audience] [Yeltsin] Attention, please...[Unidentified voice from hall: "Let us speak frankly, and the truth..."]

[Yeltsin] Attention, attention please...[Voices from the hall: "Truth, truth"; Correspondent Bella Kurkova asks from hall: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, please name the republics which supported..."]

[Gorbachev] I think that Russia, having taken a firm and clear stand, and having made known what was going on in Moscow, changed the whole situation, and supreme soviets, supreme soviets in some places and other presidiums in others, took a stand, and Boris Nikolayevich will confirm this, too. Now, too, after coming out of this crisis, Russians must act together with all the supreme soviets of the republics, and with the peoples of all the republics. Otherwise they cannot be called Russians. I will tell you what I think. [Voices from the hall: "Truth, truth."]

[Gorbachev] Well, I am saying what I think, is it truth or not? I am saying what I think. What else do you need? You, I hope, will take this in. Especially now, a huge possibility is opening up for a unifying mission of Russia, the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Congress, the government, and the whole people of Russia.

Russians, we must fulfill this mission to the end, to the end. Do you think this was an end to this? We will not over-simplify; the most difficult trials lie ahead. In the coming months we must act so that people can see that life is changing for their benefit. [applause] Therefore I am speaking to you, and you are thinking: I can see—I have already met some people—what is still in your eyes, what is in your souls. But, by the way, there is also a man standing before you who, as it were, headed that list; he was number one. Were there eight of those people? [Voice from hall: "Ten, 10."] Or were there 10? I believe that the whole investigation will explain the causes for us. You see, we have seen this both in society and at Central Committee plenums and at the Supreme Soviet; how all this would raise its head and we would stand and not give way. In my opinion their approach to this was, in general, one of panic. Anyone who thought it out in their head and had a sufficient degree of analysis, and who knew, would not have embarked upon this. These are people who lost their heads and their sense of responsibility. In general, one might speak of treachery, of traitors.

Speaking about yesterday, I must look you in the eye and say: For me this was the most serious drama, the most serious drama, because the ultimatum was brought to me by the head of the presidential apparatus. [pauses, noise from the hall] Have I not named them to you already? Boldin, assistant and head of the presidential apparatus, a

man whom I trusted totally; Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Baklanov, my deputy in the Defense Council and a former Central Committee secretary. Well, another person, the fourth among them, was Army General Varennikov. Well, he is someone who is not close to me; nevertheless, this is the person who traveled to the Ukraine after seeing me, and presented an ultimatum and so on to Kravchuk. Incidentally, in this regard, when I say that we do not need to dwell on their methods and this shows what kind of people we are, and that we are truly democrats, we must distinguish between those who took part in this at the preparatory stage too, and in my opinion everything will become clear, and also those who afterwards joined in and supported it, those who wrote the telegrams, and those who organized some committees on the spot. Under no circumstances must we allow all this to rebound against the ordinary person, the worker in the party, the peasant in the party, the intellectual.

In no event. I welcome the position of Comrade Sobchak, who said that while adopting the most rigorous measures in accordance with the law against all those who either helped or participated in this putsch, we must not permit anticommunist hysteria. For this would again be turned and used against the people. We must see all this. Probably I will now finish on this note. I think that we will adopt all the decisions that are necessary, and most—just now I will begin to read and answer—and most importantly, I am convinced—and I have come to this conviction before; otherwise, there would have been no Ogarevo process or any other—that the greatest danger, as I have said and written this before, and now I am saying it again before you: The greatest gift we can give anyone—conservatives, reactionaries, those who want to return our country to the past—is to split the democrats. It is not important that there are shades, nuances, and so on, between the democratic currents; the most important thing is that the democratic forces be united. These recent events particularly call us to do this. I also call on you all to do this.

I will begin on the basis that I will answer questions after I read what Boris Nikolayevich gave me: A short account of the USSR Committee [Cabinet] of Ministers session on the 19th—that is, on that day.

[Gorbachev, addressing Silayev]: Ivan Stepanovich, did you attend the meeting?

[Silayev] The meeting was held behind closed doors, and no minutes were taken.

[Gorbachev] That is, one of the participants recorded it? [audience laughs]

At 1800, in expanded composition, Pavlov was in the chair. How are we going to work in connection—since I am reading this for the first time I may not always be precise—how are we going to work in connection with the state of emergency? Are you ready to pull the country out of the crisis? All the decisions adopted earlier are not being fulfilled. Do you agree to support the stand taken by the Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Union treaty—that is, Lukyanov's statement. What way do you intend to run industries and enterprises? Please give your unequivocal position on whether or not you support the state committee for the state of emergency.

Speeches:

1. Katushev. The ministry's collective examined the situation at 1000 today and fully supports the committee. We have sent directives to all the trade missions in foreign countries to implement its policy.

2. Orlov. Is it the Ministry of Finances, perhaps? I am saying, the Ministry of Finances. Work in a special regime has been organized. We are in favor. Together with banks—Gerashchenko—we have sent the necessary telegrams to enterprises of the system supporting the committee.

3. Sychev, from the State Committee for Standards. He supported the committee vigorously and offered services in implementing its policy.

4. Khadzhiyev, from the Neftekhimprom [Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Processing Industry]. In favor, we are all together with the committee.

5. (Dovletova). Her speech was neither here nor there—this is the way the person who was recording put it—neither here nor there. She asked to help the faltering industry. Adroitly evaded joining. [cheers, applause]

6. Gusev. Supported vigorously, and said that if we do not win with the committee, we all are doomed. We will fight.

Panyukov. He wriggled on and on, but finally supported. [laughter]

[Yeltsin] (?It is good) you flew back from there in our aircraft and not in theirs.

[Gorbachev] I did not want to reduce everything to personalities, although at the moment it is difficult to separate the personal element in this situation. But thank you for everything you did, for rescuing me. [applause]

I listened to the BBC, and picked up some information for the first time after my bodyguards managed to find some wire and repair some old receivers. We picked up the reports of a correspondent who, it transpires, was actually here in this building, inside it, as we believed, and...[shouting from the hall] Yes. Which truth are you referring to? [more shouting] Oh, I see. Yes, there is only one truth.

Panyukov. I said [words indistinct].

Stroganov. Actively supported the committee; reported that the apparatus was telephoning all the machine-building enterprises, recommending support for the committee. Caused a negative reaction in the hall—interference with enterprises over the head of the minister on these questions.

9. [number as heard] First deputy minister of energy. Neither for nor against. Demanded that the protection of sites be stepped up.

10. Timoshishin. In favor.

11. Ministry of Railways. The minister: In favor; we are working. Necessary to step up the protection of rolling stock.

12. Vorontsov. As a deputy of the RSFSR he spoke of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, that the actions of the committee had been declared unconstitutional, and proposed mediation in establishing contacts with the Russian leadership. This was rejected. [applause]

13. Tizyakov. In favor.

14. Shcherbakov. The national economy must work. There would be an embargo. Three or four days would be needed to work out all questions and proposals on the use of mobilized reserves. Resources for imports would be absent. It would be necessary to search for internal capacities. Attitude to the committee: Not yet formulated, inasmuch as during the day the committee's opinions have been changing. For the time being I cannot determine the position, but those of Tizyakov and Starodubtsev I know well—I do not expect anything useful. [laughter] That is, there is nevertheless something on Shcherbakov's side.

[Yeltsin] But he did not condemn it, either.

[Gorbachev] To be brief, let us look into it.

15. Maslyukov. What has been published does not provide a way out of the crisis situation in the country. He put five questions and started a quarrel with Pavlov. He did not clarify his position.

Ryabev. Expressed himself with caution, but still supported the committee. Ryabev.

Doguzhiyev. Came to the rostrum and actively supported the committee.

Gubenko. Tomorrow I will have to meet with the intelligentsia. It will not understand the committee. He did not express his stance precisely. But after that, it is said, he submitted his resignation.

19. [number as heard] Shchadov. Actively in favor. He demanded the immediate introduction of a state of emergency in Kemerovo. [laughter]

20. Laverov. He wriggled this way and that, but he spoke neither for nor against. Laverov.

Notes: It is unusual, but none of the ministers of the defense complex spoke, nor did they participate in the discussions. Pavlov did not insist that they do this.

[Yeltsin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I can clarify this point. They had a separate closed meeting with Pavlov; therefore they did not express their views here.

[Gorbachev] Well, let me tell you this. I am studying a lot of things at the moment because for four whole days I did not know anything at all about what was going on. In the morning, Boris Nikolayevich sent a package of decisions which had been adopted by you. I leafed through them all. Yesterday, I was asked whether these decrees were lawful or unlawful. I said: Given the situation which the country and the Russian leadership found themselves in, I do not see that there was any alternative way or manner in which they could have acted. Everything with the Supreme Soviet, president, and government did was dictated by the circumstances and was, therefore, lawful. [applause]

[Yeltsin] I would ask the country's president to formalize this state of affairs by issuing a decree. [applause, laughter]

[Gorbachev] Boris Nikolayevich, we agreed that we would not reveal all our secrets straightaway, did we not? [laughter]

[Yeltsin] This is not a secret. This is a serious matter.

[Gorbachev] Comrades, Boris Nikolayevich and I did indeed discuss this question when we met today. Why? Because, generally speaking, these decrees were issued at a special time, in a special situation, and so on. Therefore, their legitimacy—in the situation which prevailed when they met their objective—has to be recognized. We agreed that the president must issue such a decree, so that this position can be endorsed, albeit retrospectively, from the legal point of view. [applause] This is also a precedent, an indispensable precedent.

[Yeltsin] A special album of the decrees and decisions adopted in the besieged parliament building has been prepared, Mikhail Sergeyevich. That is what it is called. [applause] We will present it to you.

[Gorbachev] I will now quickly read some questions. Perhaps some of them have already been reviewed and answered. I will do it quickly.

Gorbachev Answers Deputies' Questions

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[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, to unidentified RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] This concerns the Supreme Soviet, and I have already voiced my view. The USSR Supreme Soviet...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] What? I should probably answer these. [Gorbachev holds up written questions]

[Yeltsin] You answer the notes first, and then we...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] All right. You decide for yourselves. I am willing either way.

[Yeltsin] The notes have, after all, come in from you and not...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] There is a proposal here from Comrade Stepashin, Comrade Kobets, Comrades Lopatin and Lukin on the KGB and on the Armed Forces. I have already spoken about all this. Incidentally, we released Moiseyev from the post of chief of general staff and have confirmed Lobov there. [applause] We intend to confirm Grachev, commander of the paratroopers, as first deputy to Defense Minister Comrade Moiseyev [name and title as heard]. [applause] Grachev.

[Yeltsin] Shaposhnikov, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, has been appointed minister. Grachev is the first deputy defense minister, the one who defended us from the Military Paratroops. He is first deputy defense minister of the union and he, too, is chairman of the Committee of Russia for Defense Matters. [applause]

[Gorbachev] We have made this link, but I am not going to continue, comrades...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] I am supplementing because, simply, Mikhail Sergeyevich at times forgets, so to speak.

[Gorbachev] We have, indeed, made many decisions and I am not even going to mention them all. All those top officials that we have confirmed will submit new proposals in the next day or two. So, a clearing out of the whole place lies ahead. [interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] Don't worry.

[Yeltsin] According to my...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Agreed...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Right. I gave a written representation to the country's president of conferring the rank of army general on Colonel General Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets. [applause] The country's president has given his consent. I have signed a representation on conferring the rank of major general on Colonel Rutskoy. The country's president has given his consent. [applause] We shouldn't jump from one thing to another.

[Gorbachev] Comrades: I would say that there will be many such matters of a practical kind. Let us stop there for the moment. I will try to go faster. [Gorbachev reads a question] Evidently, not all the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] ought to bear identical responsibility for the coup. As far as is known, Starodubtsev was notified of his inclusion in the SCSE at 1000 on 19 August. Have you received a letter from Starodubtsev with an explanation? What is your attitude to him?

I have received nothing and I know nothing. [loud shouts from the hall]

[Yeltsin] Attention! Attention!

[Gorbachev] Comrade Novikov asked the question? I do not know which one. I read out a question here.

[Yeltsin] What? Let us now have a few answers to written notes and, after that, to questions from the audience-...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] Perhaps it is indeed very difficult to understand the handwriting. Maybe we should do it from the microphones? Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is somehow easier from the microphones—everybody knows then—because the written notes are long. The first microphone!

[Gorbachev] Please.

[Deputy Novikov] RSFSR People's Deputy Novikov, Vladimir Ilyich: I represent Medvedkovo, in Moscow. I think that everyone has heard it clearly that I did not submit the written note of this kind, but my question is such: Mikhail Sergeyevich, once again you have managed to confirm your adherence to socialism. At the same time, you have announced that you are going to engage yourself in improving the CPSU. I ask this question: Do you not think that socialism should be banished from the territory of the Soviet Union? This is first. Second: Do you not think, as the faction of the RSFSR nonparty deputies thinks, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be disbanded as a criminal organization? [applause]

[Gorbachev] The question is put in an extremely frank manner, and I am answering in an extremely frank manner. If you set the task of banishing socialism from the territory of the Soviet Union before the Supreme Soviet and the Government of Russian Federation, and even before all the Supreme Soviets and governments, we will not be able to accomplish this task. This is another version of the crusades, religious war in a contemporary form. Socialism, as I understand it, is the certain convictions held by people which do not only appear here among ourselves, but in other countries, and not only today, but in other times. We have declared freedom of conscience with you, the pluralism of opinions. If we engage ourselves in this very thing, well-...[changes thought] I think you asked a sharp question so that I would answer frankly.

[Deputy Novikov] But I wanted to ask about quite a different thing.

[Gorbachev] No, no, please kindly listen to what I say to you. Please listen: As you asked the question, I will answer it as I think. Therefore...

[Deputy, interrupting] Make it brief!

[Gorbachev] Do not ask such questions then, that I have to make a full report on them, otherwise no one has the right to set the task of banishing socialism from the territory of the Soviet Union, and this is, in general, yet another utopia. Moreover, it is nothing more than a

witch-hunt. Let the individual determine his own position, choose a movement , a party, or stay completely away from movements and parties. This is one thing.

The second part of the question: I cannot agree when you say that the Party should be prohibited as a criminal organization, because there are people in this Party, there are currents. Some groups which have really embarked on this path are interfering, putting the brakes on, and were even cooperating in this process. They must bear all the responsibility. Some political, other legal one. [sentence as heard] I will never agree that we should be dispersing the Communists, the workers, the peasants, what I was talking about...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] No, no, to prohibit it as a criminal organization. I, I am answering: There are people who turned out to be in among the leadership, in the Secretariat of the Central Committee too, who did not find enough courage—there was a squabble there for three days—to come to the defense of their general secretary and insist on meeting with him. There are committees which have adopted decisions to do everything, to go and act to help this so-called committee. These people must answer, everyone according to his own measure of services, in quotation marks. This—calling millions of people, workers, and peasants criminals—I will never agree to it.

I...[changes thought] all the more, the program which was put forward for discussion, aims have been set with which it is difficult for you even to compete. If that program is adopted, those who continue to stand by that program, they will be democrats who will be with you.

[Yeltsin] Right. Second microphone.

[Deputy Zadonskiy] Deputy Zadonskiy, 34th constituency: Esteemed president, please formulate your position on the opinion of a group of deputies from Russia who consider that measures should be taken without delay which will eradicate the fertile soil for the emergence of coups and all situations of the kind that have occurred. Those measures must consist of the following: immediate removal of the parallel government of the country by the Party structures. What for? Disbandment, for the period of the emergence of democracy, of the central leadership structures of the CPSU and Russian Communist Party [RCP], of the Central Committees, including the Politburos, the regional and territorial Party committees and the political organs in the KGB, Internal Affairs Ministry, Army and Navy; immediate nationalization of the property of the CPSU and RCP and allocation of their financial resources, including foreign currency, to social needs; nationalization of the property of the CPSU to be carried out publicly, under the supervision of commissions of deputies and of the public; disbandment of the KGB and creation of new security bodies by combining the appropriate bodies of the republics; frontier troops to be subordinated directly to the president. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Let me begin with your last question. I have confirmed Comrade Bakatin as chairman of the Committee of State Security, and, as point two, we have written down that a proposal be presented for the reorganization of the service. As for your other questions, they all deserve to be examined in the next few days. By the way, this—these thoughts, in that approximate form and embracing precisely these themes that you are raising—were raised and were discussed at that meeting I had with the leaders of all the republics. These issues will be examined without delay, and we will be working out measures and approaches, but, again, so that everything is done legally.

[Yeltsin] Third microphone.

[Deputy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I'd like you to express your opinion on what is, in general, a very important question: You have made, as you have told us today, some very good appointments to important government posts, but the key appointment—and the one with very great public repercussions—will be the appointment to the post of prime minister. It seems to me—and my colleague will probably support me—that that post ought to go...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Repeat that...

[Deputy, interrupting] To a representative of Russia. I should say that Russia has a very good candidate, who is also very good professionally: Ivan Silayev. Only if he agrees, of course. [applause] I'd like to know your opinion on this question.

[Gorbachev] I'm afraid I haven't understood. On what...

[Deputy] I will repeat it, briefly.

[Gorbachev] On the USSR prime minister?

[Deputy] The USSR prime minister. It seems to me that he should be from Russia and, in particular, Silayev, if he agrees.

[Gorbachev] Now everything is clear to me.

[Yeltsin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the question is this, the first part of the question: Do you think the Russian deputies' suggestion is right, that the post of prime minister should be Russian, that we should put forward that candidature.

[Gorbachev] Boris Nikolayevich knows my position. When we were forming...[changes thought] after-...[changes thought] in December, I said then that I consider that the president of the country and the prime minister should represent Russia. My viewpoint on the vice president was that he ought to represent the republics. It would be best of all, perhaps, for him to be from Central Asia. [interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] Wait, wait. I am telling you what we discussed, sitting then, the leaders of the republics, at the Federation Council. That remains my position today. The second part of the question is another matter. We

discussed in connection with the fact that, actually-...[changes thought] in connection with the fact that the situation with the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is especially acute, as I said, and I see you share that view, we agreed that, over the next two or three days at the most, we must all—the leaders—ponder this and work out a single approach. The comrades from the republics all said simultaneously that there should be a coalition in the government, considering, above all, representation of the republics...

[Deputy, interrupting] We must pick an intelligent one!

[Gorbachev] I am sure that that is an absolutely correct a priori assertion; we must pick an intelligent one! [applause]

[Yeltsin] Microphone number four.

[Deputy] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I am also a kind of political worker. I am a teacher, and I have brought up our present young generation, who stood in the cordon around this White House. We spoke just now about a kind of anti-Communist hysteria. As a political figure and a teacher, I know well that anti-Communism arises in response to Communism, as a return to the norm, in a similar way as antifascism arises in response to fascism as a return to the norm. There are no normal hysterias; there is either a fascist or a Communist hysteria. Therefore, an organization such as the CPSU was originally created upon criminal principles. It is a party of state treason. So, what is preventing you, as president, from issuing a decree about sealing up all the buildings belonging to that organization? According to my knowledge, enormous accounts are being withdrawn from its accounts by the CPSU Central Committee, enormous sums, including foreign currency. I believe that this must be stopped immediately. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I have replied to this question, in principle. The practical issues arising from this will be tackled in the coming days, in the coming days. Therefore, I will not start by embarking upon a development of my argument about this.

As for some of the information that has come in, Comrade Burbulis wrote a note to the effect that something was happening at the Central Committee building that should be stopped and asked for my consent to measures being taken. I wrote my consent, but I do not know whether it was passed on, whether measures have been taken there.

[Yeltsin] Measures have been taken. The Central Committee building has been sealed. [applause and cheering]

Well, microphone number five.

[Gorbachev] Don't get carried away. Don't get carried away with emotion. We need a clear head, especially now.

[Yeltsin] Fifth microphone.

[Deputy Arutyunov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Arutyunov of constituency No. 48, Moscow: Deputies Brechalov and Zakharov also join my question, which is: Among the defenders of the Russian White House there is a firm belief, that is ever increasing, that you knew beforehand about everything that was to happen. This view is confirmed by an interview given by Lukyanov on 19 August, in which he stated that he consulted you, the composition of this conspiratorial group was agreed, and that the only thing you did not agree to was that this composition should be agreed at the Supreme Soviet. I would like to know your position on this matter. After all, it seems to me—and, indeed, to everyone—that in both cases you would have been on top. If the putsch organizers were victorious, they would have left you as president. Now that the putsch organizers have lost, you can now become—or would like to become—a national hero, a martyr. A second question, connected with the first...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Stop there, or I will forget your questions. I think that comrades will now, of course, try...[changes thought] The forces that have suffered defeat will try to think up all sorts of things. This is the most blatant fabrication, an attempt to cast a shadow and to compromise, because they were unable to blackmail me, they were unable to get anything from me, no document whatsoever, no statement, no utterance. Incidentally, this should come out some time in the next few days. After I heard—it was passed on to me, I heard on the radio—that the state of my health was such that I was unable to think or act in any way, I realized that, in the next few hours, everything possible would be done to bring my condition into line with this statement. So, we took all measures: We closed ourselves in, we refused food from outside, we began eating what we had with us, the guard was strengthened and encircled, everyone concentrated, and we began living in a seige mentality, so to speak. Therefore, I think that all this is being done to say...[changes thought] Because they failed, failed to break me or anything. Then, they started to break me physically...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] I do not...[changes thought] First, I have not yet seen this statement or heard it. If he says this, he is a criminal, for that alone. [applause] After all, I did not speak with Lukyanov. I did not speak with anyone.

[Yeltsin] Fifth microphone, specify your question.

[Deputy Arutyunov] The second question, Mikhail Sergeyevich: At the fourth congress, Vice President Rutskoy came to you. You did not receive him. He waited for you for three hours. He said that it is not we who need you, but it is you who need us. Today's events proved that your only support is the Russian parliament. Do you understand this?

[Gorbachev] I think we need each other, as people committed to democratic reforms, and permitting disagreements and splits could mean ruining this course. No forces can compel me to reject this course, and I have already stated this publicly today. It is not news, but I

want to confirm it after everything which we have been through and which I have been through personally. When I was told that some sort of mission had arrived about which no one had notified me, and I decided to pick up the phone to find out what sort of mission this was, and when I understood that everything was already blockaded, then I understood that the issue was one of life and death. The family listened to me. I said: This is what I told you about. They all said: Well, we will live together as we have lived or, if we are to die, we will die together. That was the position of the family. The position remained like this to the end, although now everything is not so simple in the family, too. We need each other.

[Yeltsin] Microphone number one.

[Deputy Gorelov] (Gorelov), soviet of the Republic: Mikhail Sergeyevich, at your news conference yesterday—as also today—you devoted most attention, in my opinion—perhaps this is a subjective opinion—but we learned most about how you were treated in the Crimea, how your granddaughter behaved—and the same again today—but we did not hear about further practical actions. Apart from today's reports of a few cadre reshuffles, we have heard nothing about what will happen to Russian property, and these questions, unfortunately. This probably takes some time. You have said that it would take a whole report to reply. So, I have a few questions for you about personalities...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Just a minute. You are again now bringing it down to personal matters, saying that I have not spoken about this.

[Deputy Gorelov] Not by any means...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] First, excuse me, but first, I do not agree with you. I said that the fact of the matter is exactly that we have reached this stage toward the realization, already directly, of those aims of the transition to new forms of life: the signing of the treaty, the realization of the anticrisis program, food and fuel—matters that are pressing—stabilizing finances. All this must be done. So that all this gets done, we need a powerful regrouping of forces, and new legislative-executive authorities that would take on responsibility, would be trusted, and would resolve all these tasks. Therefore, I ought to have said, knowing everything here...[changes thought] When I started speaking today, you said that you knew this. You are right. I should have spoken about yesterday and given some time to just what happened there and what they had in mind when they came.

This, by the way, demonstrates further the criminality and from this the criminal schemes began to be revealed. When the president rejected all these ultimatums, they claimed that he was incapacitated and set out on the path of deceiving the peoples of the whole world. In so doing, they rejected constitutional power. So, I understand that it is necessary to continue everything that we have been doing, that we have come to the stage of realizing the concrete tasks in all areas of democratic transformations. So I cannot agree with you.

[Yeltsin] Just a minute. The question was about property, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I want to remind you that you and I, before these events, agreed that, if you did not decide on transferring property on the territory of Russia into the jurisdiction of Russia, this would be done by the president of Russia by his own decree. On 20 August, I signed such a decree. All the property and possessions on the territory of the Russian Federation, with the exception of functions transferred to the union, are the property of the peoples of Russia, the property of Russia. You have spoken today of signing a decree confirming all decrees issued in this period. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I do not think that you have driven me into a trap. No, no. I once again confirm that, in this extreme situation, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the president and the government, acted solely in the way in which they acted, and what was adopted by them was dictated by the situation, and all of it has juridical force and should be confirmed, even retrospectively, on the part of the president. [scattered applause]

Everything, everything concerning issues of implementing the union treaty...[changes thought] Boris Nikolayevich, as we discussed, and I confirm this, after the signing of the union treaty, a presidential decree on issues of ownership relating to all republics needs to be adopted, and the process of implementing this idea needs to start.

Generally speaking, this is a major task, and we should tackle it so that the difficulties of the large-scale functioning of the economy should not be aggravated. One thing is clear: There will be such a decree, and immediately after the signing of the treaty it will be prepared.

[Yeltsin] Comrades, as a diversion, allow me to sign a decree halting the activity of the Russian Communist Party. [applause]

[Gorbachev, shouting above the applause] Boris Nikolayevich, Boris Nikolayevich, Boris Nikolayevich...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] The decree has been signed. Second microphone...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I think, I think that it is of interest to you. I do not know what is written there or what it is called. If it resembles what Boris Nikolayevich said, then the Supreme Soviet, which has done so much and which needs to do so much now, should really, in this instance, not support President Boris Nikolayevich, whom I respect. On this...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] No, no, no, just a moment. Not all of the Russian Communist Party participated, not all Russian Communists participated in the plot, nor supported it. Therefore, therefore...[interrupted by deptuies' indistinct comments] If it is established that the Russian committee, the Russian committee and some of the

committees in the oblasts demonstrated solidarity with this committee, then I would support such a decree. To ban the Communist Party—let me tell you bluntly—will be a mistake on the part of such a democratic Supreme Soviet and Russian president. Therefore, I...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Ask whether the name of the decree is accurate.

[Yeltsin] Not on forbidding but on suspending the activities of the Russian Communist Party, pending the investigation by juridical bodies of its involvement in all these events.

[Gorbachev] This is already...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Everything is quite legal. [applause]

[Gorbachev] You must be, must be up to the end...

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Particularly, since the Russian Communist Party still has not been registered at the Russian Ministry of Justice.

[Gorbachev] You must be democrats to the end, to the end. Yes. Then, everybody will be with you, true democrats and people of common sense. Are there any other questions?

[Yeltsin] Third microphone. No, sorry, second microphone. I missed one.

[Deputy (Peruanskiy)] Boris Nikolayevich, I also want to do something to lift the tension. Deputy (Peruanskiy): It is my turn to ask, but, as a gift for Valentina Aleksandrovna [Petrenko], I am swapping turns with her. Today is her birthday.

[Deputy Petrenko] Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Many happy returns.

[Deputy Petrenko] Thank you very much. Esteemed comrades! Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich! I would like to ask you the following question—Petrenko, Valentina Aleksandrovna, Rostov-Na-Donu, chairman of a rayon soviet of people's deputies: Please, tell us whether you will have enough resoluteness—only, please, honestly and frankly—to now give a full appraisal of all the officials, all the individuals who were at the head of state committees. Apart from ministries, we have already heard your answer to that question. Second—concerning the events that have taken place—you know quite well that someone who kept silence once in such a situation is worse than, well, a traitor. We must call everything by name. Now, to continue about the decree on suspension, here is the second question, in parallel to this: Will you be able to give an appraisal—and what is your appraisal—of all the secretaries of rayon party committees and town committees—that is, I mean, the whole structure—kray executive committees...[changes thought] No, I mean, kray party committees, and so on, up to the Party Central Committee. What will the actions be? You said now that you are aware of the fact that not everybody behaved in the same way. I am not talking about rank-and-file Communists. I am talking about the party administrative apparatus which, in fact, if we speak honestly, failed to support you and failed to support the Russian Government in this situation. What action will you take? I would like to wish you...[changes thought] Now, people expect only decisive steps from you. I ask you for this, just as a woman: act resolutely at this difficult moment. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Comrades, where the most decisive measures will be required and those justified by the situation—and we have survived a situation from which very hard lessons follow—on my part, they will be taken on the basis of a consultation with all of you. This is very important; most decisive measures. I am prepared for this both morally and politically. However, I will insist up to the end that, if we split the society and fail to pursue the path of unification of the entire healthy society around the democratic movements and forces, then there will be a fight in the society. We must avoid this. The people do not accept it, either. Have you noticed that some people reacted to order? Moreover, we can even hear in some quarters: Give us a Brezhnev or a Stalin, only give us order. Therefore, we must show that we can resolve issues and must resolve isses under the conditions of legality and democracy. This is...[changes thought] I will insist on such a mode of action, but not to the detriment of resoluteness and firmness.

[Yeltsin] I can confirm that, today, during a 90-minute one-on- one conversation, Mikhail Sergeyevich said firmly that appropriate measures that have been adopted in accordance with the law would be brought against all those who were directly or obliquely involved in this coup, sharply and decisively, and that there should be no mercy here. [applause]

Esteemed people's deputies! The president has been on the rostrum for 90 minutes, and now...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] No, no, the point is that at 1800 there is a session of the nine, and the president and I must be there and continue today's discussion of fundamental issues concerning both the national economy and cadres and so on. Therefore, I would request...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] Good, if anyone has remarks then, including Khadzhiyev. Mikhail Sergeyevich...[interrupted by deputy rising from seat] Please be seated.

[Gorbachev] No, let five speak.

[Yeltsin] Microphone number five. Quiet!

[Deputy Khadzhiyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Boris Nikolayevich: A shorthand record has been read out here and, overall, I have been disgraced before the whole country. I wasn't at the 19 August session of the Cabinet of Ministers and although I was to be on holiday until today, I flew to Moscow on the night of 19 August. On the morning of 20 August, I assembled the collegium,

and at the collegium I said openly that I would not work with these eight. If they were to be victorious at the session, I would resign. The collegium adopted a decision that we would not carry out the instructions of these eight—I have the official telegram here—until there was a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet. At the same time, on 21 August, Comrade Vorontsov and I, the two of us, wrote a statement. I request permission to read this. It will take something like three seconds:

We, ministers of the USSR, appointed to our posts with the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR President Gorbachev, remain loyal to the laws of the USSR president. We do not consider it possible to subordinate ourselves to any organs which do not exist in the USSR Constitution and, in this regard, we consider the creation of the SCSE unlawful. In the situation which has taken shape, in accordance with Point 1 of Decree No. 61 of the RSFSR president of 19 August 1991, until the convocation of an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies we will move directly to the subordination of the RSFSR president. We continue to carry out our functions. We appeal to the people for calm and we appeal to our colleagues who are members of the USSR Government to follow our example and to come out in defense of the legitimate authority and against the participants in the putsch.

That was at 1400 on the 21 August. Deputy (Gurin) signed this with me.

[Gorbachev] So, it was a mistake.

[Khadzhiyev] Therefore, I request that my name be cleared and that I be told who the scoundrel is who put my name there. I wish to see him face to face.

[Yeltsin] Understood. First, we will take note of your statement; second, evidently this fact needs to be given a final investigation; and third, an article is being prepared for tomorrow's edition of IZVESTIYA containing precisely this protocol. This must now be held back in order...[interrupted by deputies' indistinct comments] No, don't interrupt me—so that everything in it corresponds exactly to what was actually the case. If one or two surnames get in there through this kind of inaccuracy, this will be a very bad thing. So, let us do this. It would be better to ask IZVESTIYA to postpone it slightly for a day or two to make sure the protocol is accurate and then release it.

[Gorbachev] I have collected them all.

[Yeltsin] So, Mikhail Sergeyevich has taken all the signed questions. Comrades, come on now, let us respect the Supreme Soviet and ourselves. This is the first time that the country's president has been here, at the Supreme Soviet. Maybe some of the answers may not seem full, but this is understandable: You cannot answer everything in 90 minutes. I think that we should tactfully thank the president for his speech and for answering the questions, and we will regard these meetings of ours as traditional. [applause]

Oh, they are starting over again.

[Deputy] [Words indistinct] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what do you intend to do? Who supported you up to the hilt? Who warned you up until the last minute? What is your position on Shevardnadze and Yakovlev?

[Gorbachev] My position is unchanged.

[Deputy] What is it?

[Gorbachev] It is unchanged. They know it. Aleksandr is here, somewhere.

[Deputy] They do not know it.

[Gorbachev] Don't they?

[Deputy] We don't know.

[Gorbachev] Ah, you don't know it. Yakovlev knows it. Both Shevardnadze and Yakovlev shared my whole fate from 1985 and participated in all the difficult searches and in some of the mistakes that we made and permitted. This was, so to speak, also due to them, but I believe, all the same, that the main thing, all that we did, the choice, the adoption of a course, the working out of this course was all correct.

[Deputy] And their resignations?

[Gorbachev] I was against both their resignations, but I could not insist ten times when they insisted.

[Yeltsin] Enough. Thank you, and goodbye. Thank you. [applause]

Gorbachev Thanks Deputies

LD2408200291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] The USSR president made a telephone call on 24 August to cordially thank deputies of the Moscow soviet and the Moscow oblast soviet for their conscientious fulfillment of their official duties during the attempted coup d'etat. A commission to analyze the actions of the bodies of state power and administration in Moscow oblast during the coup has started work in the Moscow oblast soviet. The commission is headed by (Stanislav Kolonyuk), a people's deputy of the Moscow oblast soviet.

Moscow Russian TV Interviews Yeltsin

LD2508204291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Interview with RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin by unidentified correspondent in Yeltsin's office in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] So here we are in Moscow, the White House on the Embankment, the office of the President of Russia, at 1810. Behind us is another hard,

difficult, nervous day. I think, however, that the nervousness of this day is not to be compared to all that we had to live through over the last four days. There were the nine [as heard] days that shook the whole world, Boris Nikolayevich, and 74 years later there were three tragic days that shook the country and civilization. In connection with this I would like to ask you about the most important thing. All of us, including you, had more than once warned that a reactionary coup was possible, although all of us, and I am convinced you too, were hoping there would be no such coup. Nevertheless, it was attempted. Why did they go for this step? What were their motives?

[Yeltsin] It seems to me that the countdown began in 1985. When the democratic transformations began, when glasnost began to appear, when the beginning of political and economic reforms was announced, it was then that all those who perceived that the end of this process would be a general reorganization of the society became worried. That meant that many of them would be deprived of what they have now, that many of today's structures which are still operating would be no more, that there would be no calls toward a bright future, communism, socialism, and that life would simply be based on civilized principles, and on common sense, truly in the name of man and for man.

Later, however, after two years, perestroyka began to falter because of indecisiveness and changes left only half done. This reassured them. Again they began to order the party structure around. The machine that operated for all these 74 years began to work again at full strength. They were all reassured. This is the point at which, I think, Russia began to head more energetically toward reform. It began to overtake, as it were, the Union in these matters. It began to display dissatisfaction with the very slow pace of change maintained by the Union leadership. There was no reform. In general, there was no movement. Preparatory work began for the Union treaty—in other words, decentralization of power and more independence for the republics. The center would be left with only a small part of the huge power which it had before, a mainly coordinating role. The most important matters were to be settled in the republics.

This is where all the right-wing forces united in agreement that this would ruin them. Many structures would be killed off. They would die away. They would not be needed. Well, in Russia we are going to do without 60 ministries. We do not need them. We do not need many committees, most of which are Union ones. We do not need them. We do not need that cabinet of ministers. We do not need it in such a form. What we need is participation by the republics, joint consultation with them. That is what the center would be. In other words, most of them did not see a place for themselves in the final draft of the Union treaty. At that point they were gripped by terror.

They wanted to throw the first stone in January at the Congress, as a trial run. But Shevardnadze's declaration that a switch to dictatorship was being prepared scared them off and they applied the brake.

The second thing was the statement by Pavlov, Kryuchkov, and Yazov at the Supreme Soviet session; this was the second try. But at that time they were again frightened off, so to speak, by the Russian initiative concerning exposure of them, powerful criticism of them, the fact that the Supreme Soviet did not agree to give Pavlov extra powers, and so on and so forth. That is, this path was again excluded for them. Then, taking into account the fact that the first stage of the signing of the Union treaty was planned for 20 August, they started getting ready for 19 August.

An hour's study of the documents shows that this is an altogether terrible affair. It is a real, deeply thought out, and structured coup d'etat. It is not just a handful of eight people. Oh, no. No. The investigators will have to dig really deep to expose absolutely all of them, both those who carried out the coup and those who helped, who the ideologists were, and who gave the directions. In general, all of them will have to be revealed. That is, this was the main reason, because after this Union treaty, hundreds and thousands of generals, admirals, ministers, deputy chairmen, and so on and so forth would be deprived of power, and they would not be needed. How come Shchadov suddenly turned out to be such a zealous supporter of the State Emergency Committee? He should have been pensioned off 20 years ago. At the Cabinet of Ministers meeting on 19 August—incidentally, at the time planned for the attack on the House of Soviets—he stated that only the committee could rescue the country.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, I am surprised to hear people saying that the plot failed because it was badly organized.

[Yeltsin] Well, of course, one cannot say that it was badly organized and badly prepared, if only because the chief of general staff of the Ministry of Defense knows how to plan combat operations. A coup is a combat operation. Moiseyev, as a participant, and a quite direct one at that, in this coup [changes thought] although he is now trying to justify himself and say it is not so, but there are documents. The KGB had a very detailed schedule for taking the White House. There is a special group called the A-Group of the KGB Seventh Directorate which specializes in such matters—its usual title is antiterrorist but as long as there is no terrorism it occupies itself with matters such as this—seizing targets or places. The plan was as follows. They were armed with very powerful weapons—grenade launchers, antitank so-called (?MOK), and other things. The first and second floors of the building were to be subjected to a simultaneous hail of fire from all sides. A hail of fire directed at everything—they were going to shoot at every living thing, doors, windows, everything, absolutely everything, every last thing. Then they were going to burst into the building through the doors at 1800 on the 19th. From there they were to make their way via that building here to the presidential building, first and foremost seize the

president and, if there were to be any possibility of his escaping, shoot him on the spot. Then possibly seize a further 11 people—in other words, 12 people in all, and it would be best if they could be killed right here. At that time troops were to be brought up along with hardware, tanks, assault troops ....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Three divisions ....

[Yeltsin, interrupting] Special purpose forces—yes, three divisions—and so on. The whole of Moscow Military District. So there you have it. At 1800 all hell was to break loose. We had already received word from deserters from there. At 1800. We were already preparing for this storming. We had long since brought up our own units, though of course there was danger because from the outside they would not be able to shoot everyone. (?Though by four) they had concentrated here, including, for instance, some Afghanistan veterans and units from Russia's Ministry of Internal Affairs. The main thing of all, of course, is how, as soon as they learned of it, the people threw a ring round the White House—our parliament building—several tens of thousands of Muscovites, who had been there in the rain for three days. What is most striking is not so much ... [changes thought] on the contrary it is what the organizers of this coup did not take into account. First they came up against the super-disciplined A-Group—A for Alpha. Suddenly they refused to have any part in it. For the whole of the KGB leadership this was something totally unexpected. Propaganda and pressure were applied there, along with threats of trials and shootings and so on. One by one commanders of sub-units were summoned and subjected to scare tactics. There were about 20 of them, and not one of them went along with it. They returned and lay down in the sports hall. No, and again no.

That is why the assault kept being postponed—1800, 2000, 2200, then 0100, 0300; they kept thinking—then they added 250 more men to [words indistinct]. It did not work out, and at 0300 they saw that they were too late; that is, they saw that there were so many people that it would have been difficult even to get through.

Admittedly they had orders to disperse the people, that was the very word, I was reading the documents yesterday and you just shudder, it was a fascist junta—disperse the people in front of the building and penetrate it. That is, they would have destroyed thousands of people here without batting an eye, and they went on. That is, psychologically they did not take into consideration the fact that the people in our country have lost the fear that there was 10 years ago, perhaps seven or five years ago—that fear is no more. They encircled it, and even the group which some people are accusing, and I would like to express deep gratitude to them, that it was perhaps they who all in all saved Russia, the country, and the world from a great calamity, from chaos, from darkness, from concentration camps, from arrests. The country would have been thrown back decades.

I will not even mention the fact that a cold war against the world would have broken out, if not a hot one. It was simply madness. Irresponsible madmen who did not know that the people have changed, and to count on people allowing Russia to be thrown to its knees is simply funny. Would they have thrown the miners to their knees? Or the people of the Urals? The metallurgists? Others? No, they would not. It would have been useless.

The absolute majority of the regions, I think around 70 percent, perhaps even 80, stated openly that they would not subordinate themselves to the committee. Some nevertheless did decide to do so, and these, through my decree, have now been removed from office, and prosecutors are dealing with it, investigating it. That was mostly where the first secretaries were combined with chairmen of the oblast and kray soviets; that is, everything that went through an opposing structure, it was that structure that went into gear.

Now, you see, it is naive to say that the CPSU Central Committee had nothing to do with it, the Russian Communist PArty had nothing to do with it; that is naive, because if you do not appraise it as a coup, you are already an accomplice. Neither one nor the other of the Central Committees made such an appraisal.

[Correspondent] Especially as the committee was made up of all Central Committee members [as heard].

[Yeltsin] I will not even mention that they were all communists.

[Correspondent] All the more when all the members of the committee were members of the Central Committee.

[Yeltsin] I am not saying that they were all communists.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, during those days, were you thoroughly convinced of a favorable outcome? I cannot imagine that you did not think about a critical situation and a [word indistinct] situation.

[Yeltsin] Of course, at such a moment one cannot give in to any uncertainty, you know. I am embarrassed, in front of the viewers, excuse me; that perhaps it is because of sport, I have developed a character whereby the harder it gets, the more composed I am. It was like that this time, 72 hours not leaving this building, 72 hours of work, very intensive, very difficult work. But nevertheless, we did provide for such a possibility, just in case. In the center of Russia, we formed a reserve leadership of Russia, and they were already working there, headed by Lobov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. It was a big group, 22 people to begin with. It was in a special zone, that no one could enter, so they could not be arrested. They were transferred there straight away, just in case, on 19 August, and they started working, and they continued in case we really were removed. But thinking about this, in that very busy period, I did not think about

it. As usual, as I say, in sport, you play and you do not think about losing. No, you always think about how to win.

[Correspondent] These difficult days are behind us. One would like to believe they are the last difficult days, though that is hardly likely. A boundless continent of problems is yet to come. The Union treaty—question mark. The state of the economy—question mark. The Federation Council—question mark again. The line-up of the Union government—another question mark. Specific actions—what do you see as a program of immediate, first steps?

[Yeltsin] (?I am just straightening out your questions). We will not sign the Union treaty at different stages. We will wait for 15 September, when this matter will be considered at the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. Depending on this, if it accepts the Union treaty, then we will all sign it together.

[Correspondent] May this not be a body of the confederation?

[Yeltsin] No. Regarding the Council of the Federation, this is not a constitutional body—it does not exist, and it is not necessary. It was working over this period, but it is not necessary. I think that the best option is the Union Security Council. All the leaders of the nine republics have to be included, and to consider strategic matters together, then by the government.

Of course, in connection with the fact that the Cabinet of Ministers did not give a principled assessment of this coup, and many of its members, including the chairman, were directly involved, it must be immediately disbanded by presidential decree and by subsequent ratification at the session of the Supreme Soviet, and, better, at the Congress of People's Deputies. In general, I am in favor—instead of convening a session of the Union Supreme Soviet on 26 August, it is better a day later, but to convene a Congress of People's Deputies, and to resolve matters immediately both on the involvement of the Cabinet of Ministers and on its replacement, and on the structure, and on new cadres. In general, a lot will have to be changed. It has turned out that there were many more participants or co-participants than was presumed.

That is on the cabinet, and correspondingly, well, as a preliminary measure, we reached agreement with the president that a committee, a very compact one, will be formed, headed by Silayev, to form a new Union cabinet of ministers.

Now your question on the economy. The present situation is of course very grave, but it seems to me that the people are now very strongly minded, psychologically, to get on with things. Only we must not get in the way, rather give freedom, freedom for entrepreneurship, freedom for enterprises, freedom for regions, and [word indistinct], not fetter them with all these iron bolts.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, in these last two days you have had frequent consultations with the president. I will dare ask whether you think the president has overcome the phase of his eternal vacillation and made his choice, or whether it is the willingness to make concessions of a man who has suffered enough?

[Yeltsin] Going by yesterday, I would be able to come to the conclusion that he has made his choice. I have never seen him like this, from the point of view of the approach to fundamental reforms, to cadres and so on, because after all, he cannot be cleared of blame for this coup. Who was it that chose the cadres? He did. Who confirmed them? He did. He was betrayed by the people who were closest to him.

[Correspondent] Virtually all of them, indeed.

[Yeltsin] Yes. The Cabinet of Ministers—almost in its entirety, they betrayed him. He had selected them, each one individually.

[Correspondent] (?He also had firm trust in) Lukyanov.

[Yeltsin] Yes. Lukyanov was one of the prime ideologists of this putsch. I think that the Supreme Soviet, the Congress... [changes thought] that is why a congress is needed, Lukyanov must be fired, and a chairman of the Supreme Soviet must be elected.

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, quite a difficult period has now started. The people are demanding that they be made answerable, that all of them get their just deserts. Personally I am very concerned that the democratic masses and democracy should not be gripped by the euphoria of vengefulness. How do you see it? Where is the limit of strict justice, but not vengefulness, whatever happens? Because then that would be to the detriment of democracy.

[Yeltsin] I would like to say that this is something... [changes thought] the people have to be reassured. It is necessary for all of us to avoid euphoria, including the euphoria of victory, and to set to business straight away and get on with things. Today, for instance, is already a working day. It is Saturday, but a real working day. Also, we must act solely according to the law. There must be no euphoria, in terms of vengefulness, and so on; otherwise, we would have to stop respecting ourselves as democrats—we would be going from one extreme to the other. The law and only the law.

[Correspondent] Never in history—that of the White House of the government, and probably in the history of countries—has it happened that the house has had so many foreign journalists in it as at this tragic time. They worked selflessly, and, as journalists, we sensed their solidarity, they offered us their wavelengths, their airtime, so that we could tell the truth to the people of Russia—to the people of Russia and to the whole of civilized mankind. Today a kind of television Oscar of television journalists, the Emmy prizes, are awarded.

Could you say something addressed to the international journalists of the countries that gave us support?

[Yeltsin] I would like to speak in general about the support of the whole world community. During those days, I had two conversations a day with President Bush, Mitterrand, Britain's Prime Minister Major, Margaret Thatcher, and Japan's Prime Minister Kaifu. Dozens and dozens of leaders of states telephoned, and it was always support, keep it up, support, and more support. They understood that this would shake up the whole world, that it would be a drama for the whole world. Of course, they were worried about Russia, about the country, and about us. The journalists—I was simply amazed, I have never seen international journalists so ....

[Correspondent, interrupting] They slept here [words indistinct]

[Yeltsin] They had no fear, and without any sort of comforts. I am very—it is amazing. I know many of them, I know the majority, and I am grateful.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

[Yeltsin] May Russia rest assured now. We will not let this happen again; we will not allow it.

Rutskoy Addresses Mourners' Rally in Moscow

LD2408143491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0707 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Address by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy to rally of mourning in Manezh Square in Moscow on behalf of Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, Muscovites, and guests of the capital; esteemed parents and relatives of those who died: At this moment of mourning not only Russia and the Soviet Union, but the whole world as well, are accompanying on their final journey these fighters for democracy—fighters for this democracy that has been born on our long-suffering soil, for a democracy for which we have fought without sparing our own health, while these lads—good, young people—gave their young lives to prevent the flare-up of yet another coup, yet another spiral of 1937.

It is hard for us today, standing on this square, but we all must understand that if a person wants to be free, if he wants to be an individual, if he wants not to be tormented by shame and his conscience for his indifference, he must act as these lads did.

As we accompany them on their final journey, we bow down before the parents who raised these courageous lads. Eternal glory to them!

Yeltsin Addressses Moscow Mourners

LD2408122291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1121 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Address by Boris Yeltsin to the mourners attending the rally in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear relatives and friends of Dmitriy Komar, Vladimir Usov, and Ilya Krichevskiy, fellow countrymen, Muscovites: The city of Moscow with its population of many millions and the whole of Russia today bid farewell to our heroes, our defenders, and our rescuers. Of course, we do not bid farewell to their names because henceforth their names have become sacred for Russia, sacred names for all the peoples of our long-suffering Russia.

On Monday when radio and television reported the coup, at first the hearts of millions and millions of mothers and fathers, who feared most of all for their children, faltered. This was because it was the young people, our children, who threw themselves into defending the honor of Russia, its freedom, its independence, and its democracy, and defending its parliament, too. Henceforth, that square on which for three days real battles were waged and where for three days thousands, tens of thousands of Muscovites kept watch will be called Free Russia Square [ploshchad svobodnoy rossii]. The enemy is cruel and, of course, bloodthirsty, primarily because one who knows that if he loses then no quarter will be given to anyone. All the participants, the main participants of this putsch have been arrested, handed over to the courts, and I am sure they will get their just deserts. Even today how cynically the words of the arrested Kryuchkov sound. Yesterday, he said that if I were to begin from the beginning, then I would begin the most important thing, the beheading of Russia, a little more quickly and more vigorously.

Comrades, this whole plot—we must see this very clearly—was directed in the first place against Russia, against the Russian Federation, against the parliament, against the government, against the president. All Russia, however, rose to its defense. Moscow rose, as did Leningrad, the Urals, the Far East, and the Kuzbass—virtually every region, although we also have the sort of oblasts that immediately ran up the flag and the slogan: We will pledge our allegiance to the Emergency Committee. Today these leaders have already been removed from their posts, and the procurator is looking into them.

none of this, however, can restore to life those who perished here, those who perished at the very walls of our White House. We bow to their courage. They are now already posthumous heroes of the Soviet Union.

I bow to the mothers and fathers of Dimitriy, Volodya, and Ilya, and express my deepest condolences to them and all their relatives and those who were close to them. Forgive me, your president, for not being able to defend, to protect your sons.

During this time of national mourning throughout Russia, we do naturally need to rally together in one spirit so that henceforth we can act with greater vigor.

In this way we cleared the way, and our fallen heroes helped us in this. It is hard and painful for us today, but it could have been even worse, because each of our enemies now are like cockroaches in a tin can biting at each other, pointing the finger at one another, and saying who was the more senior in the conspiracy, revealing lists of those whom they wanted to kill first, second, third, and fourth. The first 12 victims were on the official list which indicated who was to have been killed at 1800 on the 19th during the storming of the House of the Soviets.

So the Muscovites who stood here genuinely defending the honor of Russia did not act in vain. Our loss is grave. We shall always remember them. And so, our heroes, rest in peace. May the earth lie lightly upon you.

Ukase on Aid to Victims' Families

91UN2492C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic on the Funeral of Citizens of Moscow Who Died During the Confrontation With Army Subunits"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Commending the active civic position of inhabitants of Moscow in defense of the constitutional democratic system and paying last respects to the memory of those who died in the struggle for the defense of democracy, I resolve that:

The state will bear the expenses connected with the funeral of the citizens who died during the confrontation with Army subunits during the night of 21 August 1991;

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers will give the families of the deceased a lump-sum of money and, in conjunction with the mayor of Moscow, provide for the organization of the funeral.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 21 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 73

Yeltsin Announces KGB, Interior, Appointments

LD2308151291 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation addressed a mass rally in front of the KGB headquarters in Dzerzhinsky Square in central Moscow.

He announced new appointments to the KGB, Interior Ministry and the USSR Defence Ministry.

Vadim Bakatin, 54, former member of the USSR Security Council and interior minister, is appointed chairman of the KGB.

Viktor Barannikov, who was the interior minister of the Russian Federation until today, is appointed the USSR Interior Minister. Colonel General Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, 49, who refused to obey the orders from the plotters during the time of the coup d'etat, is appointed the USSR defence minister.

General Shaposhnikov was a Soviet deputy defence minister and commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Force. Lieutenant General Pavel Grachev, 43, who commanded the airborne troops, is appointed his deputy.

Boris Yeltsin said Anatoliy Lukyanov, 61, was relieved of the duties of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yeltsin Fires Top Bureaucrats in 8 Regions

OW2308200391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree that dismisses eight executive committee chairmen in regional soviets for their support of the anticonstitutional activities of the Emergency Committee and defiance of the decrees of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] president aimed at squashing the coup attempt. Among them are the executive committee chairmen in Nizhni Novgorod, Ryazan, Tambov, Tula, Ulyanovsk, Lipetsk, Amur, and Vladimir regions.

RSFSR Takes Over USSR Ministries

LD2408200491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1944 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] Council of Ministers of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic]. Resolution of 24 August 1991 - 439, city of Moscow.

On the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

In view of the active part of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, headed by USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, in organizing the state coup and implementing the measures of the so-called USSR SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. To propose that USSR President M.S. Gorbachev disband the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

2. Until the formation of a new USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the resolutions, directives and other decisions

of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers are not subject to execution on the territory of the RSFSR by the ministries and departments of the USSR and the RSFSR, or by associations, enterprises, organizations and citizens of the Russian Federation.

For the stipulated period the RSFSR Council of Ministers takes on the leadership of the ministries and departments of the USSR, and associations, enterprises and organisations udner their jurisdiction located on the territory of the RSFSR.

3. All Officials of the ministries and departments of the USSR continue to carry out their duties and are guided in their activity by the decisions of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR and the instructions of plenipotentiary members of the government of the RSFSR.

O.I. Lobov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR is to present for confirmation by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR a list of the plenipotentiary members of the government of the RSFSR within 24 hours.

4. The Council of Ministers of the RSFSR ensures that the ministries and departments of the USSR carry out their functions with regard to the other Union republics in agreement with the governments of those republics.

[Signed] I. Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR

Further on Decrees Issued by Boris Yeltsin

Decree on Executive Power

PM2308171491 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

["Decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President": "On Certain Questions of the Activity of Organs of Executive Power in the RSFSR"]

[Text] With a view to strengthening state discipline, organizing efficient management of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] national economy, and ensuring unity in the activity of organs of executive power in the RSFSR, I resolve that:

1. The RSFSR president and the RSFSR vice president, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the Councils of Ministers of republics within the RSFSR, and other organs of executive power and officials who are heads of executive power constitute a unified system of executive power in the RSFSR.

2. The RSFSR president, in accordance with the RSFSR Constitution and the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR President":

—Is the highest official of the RSFSR and head of executive power in the RSFSR;

—Issues decrees and directives [rasporyazheniya] which are binding for implementation throughout RSFSR territory;

—Appoints the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers with the consent of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;

—Appoints and dismisses ministers and leaders of committees and departments of the RSFSR on the submission of the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The RSFSR president accepts the resignation of the RSFSR Government in accordance with Article 123 of the RSFSR Constitution.

In accordance with Article 121/3 of the RSFSR Constitution and Article 8 of the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR President," the RSFSR president is entitled to suspend decisions of organs of executive power on RSFSR territory if they are contrary to the Constitution and laws of the RSFSR, and also to relieve officials of the said organs of their duties in the event of their violating RSFSR legislation. Decisions on these questions are formulated in directives of the RSFSR president.

The RSFSR president is entitled to entrust the exercise of certain of his powers to other organs of executive power or to the appropriate officials.

3. The RSFSR Council of Ministers—the government of the RSFSR in accordance with the RSFSR Constitution:

—Is an organ of executive power accountable to the RSFSR president;

—Exercises leadership of the republic's national economy, on the instructions of the RSFSR president and autonomously;

—Issues resolutions and directives which are binding for implementation throughout RSFSR territory.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, in accordance with Article 128 of the RSFSR Constitution, is entitled, within the limits of its competence, to suspend the implementation of resolutions and directives of the Councils of Ministers of republics within the RSFSR, to repeal decisions and directives of organs of executive power, and also, in accordance with Article 76 of the RSFSR Constitution and the RSFSR Law "On the Operation of Acts of USSR Organs on RSFSR Territory," to suspend the operation of resolutions and directives of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers if they violate the sovereignty of the Russian Federation.

4. The executive-administrative [ispolnitelno-rasporyaditelnyye] functions of state administration in the krays, the oblasts, the autonomous oblast, and the autonomous okrugs are exercised by heads of administrations [glavami administratsiy]. The head of administration of a kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug is appointed, with the agreement of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, by the RSFSR

president and is accountable to him. Candidates for the post of head of administration of the autonomous oblast or autonomous okrugs are selected in the light of the specific national features and traditions of the indigenous peoples.

The head of the administration may be relieved of his post by the RSFSR president on his own initiative or on the submission of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, or on the initiative of the head of the administration.

In the event that a head of administration is relieved of his post or is unable to exercise his powers, the RSFSR president appoints an acting head of administration temporarily, for up to six months.

The head of administration:

—Implements executive-administrative functions on the basis of and in execution of RSFSR laws, acts of the RSFSR president and the RSFSR government, and also decisions of the corresponding soviets of people's deputies that have been adopted within the limits of their powers;

—Within the limits of his competence, issues resolutions and directives that are binding for implementation in the corresponding territory;

—Ensures collaboration with the soviet of people's deputies and its organs and people's deputies;

—Presents a report on the implementation of the budget to the corresponding soviet of people's deputies not less than once a year;

—Is entitled to appeal against decisions of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies and its organs. The soviet is entitled to reject such an appeal by the head of administration by a majority of votes of the total number of people's deputies;

—Is entitled to repeal decisions of the local administration on the corresponding territory that are contrary to existing legislation;

—Autonomously forms the administration, determines its structure, and approves the staffing level within the limits of appropriations allocated by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, and appoints and dismisses leaders of structural subdivisions of the administration.

The powers of the administration are deemed to be terminated from the moment a decision is adopted to relieve the head of administration of his post. The administration carries out its duties until the formation of a new administration.

The head of administration may not occupy any other post in state, commercial, or social organs or organizations and is not entitled to engage in entrepreneurial activity.

From the moment a head of administration is appointed, the powers of the executive committee of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies are deemed to be terminated. The head of administration is successor in law [pravopreyemnik] to the executive committee of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies.

5. With a view to ensuring collaboration among the highest organs of executive power of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR, missions of the republics to the RSFSR president and missions of the RSFSR president in the said republics are established.

With a view to coordinating the activity of organs of executive power of the RSFSR, the krays, the oblasts, the autonomous oblast, the autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and Leningrad, the RSFSR president appoints local representatives who form part of the control staff [kontrolnoye upravleniye] of the RSFSR president's administration [administratsiya].

Leaders and officials of ministries, departments, and other organizations of the RSFSR and organs of executive power are instructed to assist the RSFSR president's representatives in the fulfillment of the functions vested in them, to create the necessary conditions for their activity, and to provide official premises, transportation, means of communication, and office equipment.

Missions and representatives of the RSFSR president fulfill the instructions of the RSFSR president and carry out their activity in accordance with legislation valid in RSFSR territory and the provisions approved by the RSFSR president concerning them.

6. The RSFSR president's administration conveys to the organs of executive power in the RSFSR the normative acts of the RSFSR president and RSFSR Council of Ministers. The organs of executive power of the republics within the RSFSR, the krays, the oblasts, the autonomous oblast, and the autonomous okrugs and the mayors of the cities of Moscow and Leningrad send their decisions to the RSFSR president's administration within seven days of their being signed.

7. Monitoring [kontrol] of the implementation of the present Decree is entrusted to the control staff of the RSFSR president's administration.

8. The present decree comes into force from the moment of being signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, RSFSR President
[Dated] 22 August 1991, Moscow, Kremlin

Control of Communications in RSFSR

LD2408203491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Decree issued by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, in Moscow on 24 August]

[Text] Decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president on providing government communications for organs of state authority and administration in the RSFSR:

To safeguard state security in the RSFSR and to prevent the possibility of fresh attempts to change constitutional authority in the RSFSR, I resolve:

All types of government communications on the territory of the RSFSR are to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR KGB. Communications enterprises on the territory of the RSFSR, including the city of Moscow, which are presently under Union jurisdiction, are to be transferred to the RSFSR Ministry of Communications, Information Technology, and Space.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 24 August 1991, Moscow, Kremlin,

Decree on Enciphering Facilities

LD2408215491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2126 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] Decree of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] president on providing government communications for organs of state authority and administration in the RSFSR:

In order to safeguard state security in the RSFSR and to prevent fresh attempts to change constitutional authority in the RSFSR, I resolve:

All types of government communications on the territory of the RSFSR, including facilities for the enciphering of documents and telephone calls, are to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR KGB. Communications enterprises on the territory of the RSFSR, including the city of Moscow, which are presently under union jurisdiction, are to be transferred to the RSFSR Ministry for Communications, Information Technology, and Space.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 24 August 1991, the Kremlin, Moscow

Ukase Issued on New Defense Chairman

91UN2498A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic on the Chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets is appointed chairman of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic State Committee for Defense.

[Signed] **B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR**
[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 60

Ukase on Security Authorities

91UN2498B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] There has been an attempted coup d'etat. The president of the USSR, who is supreme commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces, has been removed from office and the vice president of the USSR, the prime minister of the USSR, the chairman of the USSR KGB, and the ministers of defense and internal affairs of the USSR have joined an anticonstitutional body, thereby committing a state crime. As a result of these actions the activity of the legitimately elected executive authority of the USSR is paralyzed.

In the current emergency situation **I resolve that**:

1. Prior to the convening of a special Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, all organs of executive authority of the USSR, including the USSR KGB, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the USSR Defense Ministry, operating on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] will be transferred to the direct jurisdiction of the popularly elected president of the RSFSR.

2. The RSFSR Committee for State Security, RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and RSFSR State Committee for Defense will temporarily exercise the functions of the corresponding authorities of the USSR on the territory of the RSFSR.

All territorial and other organs of the MVD, KGB, and Defense Ministry on the territory of the RSFSR are required to immediately comply with the edicts and directives of the president of the RSFSR and the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the orders of the RSFSR KGB, RSFSR MVD, and RSFSR State Committee for Defense.

3. All authorities, officials and citizens of the RSFSR will adopt immediate measures to preclude the fulfillment of any decisions and directives of the anticonstitutional Committee for the State of Emergency.

officials complying with the decisions of the said committee will be dismissed in accordance with the RSFSR Constitution. That the RSFSR Procuracy authorities will adopt measures immediately to institute criminal proceedings against the said persons.

[Signed] **B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR**

[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin

No. 61

Ukase on Economic Organs in RSFSR

91UN2497B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Considering the situation that has developed, I decree:

Comrade O.I. Lobov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Council of Ministers; Comrade A.V. Yablokov, member of RSFSR State Committee; and, Comrade S.N. Krasavchenko, member of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, will organize operational control of the national economic complex of the republic and, if necessary, ensure the effective actions of the basic state structures.

For the implementation of the assigned task, I authorize the involvement of the necessary officials on behalf of the president of the RSFSR.

All organizations situated on RSFSR territory will provide the necessary assistance.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, RSFSR president
[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 62

Ukase Appeals to Army, MVD

91UN2493B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Having conducted a coup d'etat and violently removed the USSR president and commander of the USSR Armed Forces:

USSR Vice President—Yanayev, G.I.
USSR Prime Minister—Pavlov, V.S.
USSR KGB Chairman—Kryuchkov, V.A.
USSR Minister of Internal Affairs—Pugo, B.K.
USSR Defense Minister—Yazov, D.T.
Chairman of the Peasant Union—Starodubtsev, V.A.
First Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Defense—Baklanov, O.D.
President of the Association of Industry, Construction, and Communications—Tizyakov, A.I.
and their accomplices have committed grave state crimes, having violated Article 62 of the USSR Constitution, Articles 64, 69, 70, 70-1, and 72 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Criminal Code and the corresponding articles of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics.

Having betrayed the people, the homeland, and the Constitution, they placed themselves outside the law.

On the basis of the aforementioned, I decree:

Workers of procuracy, state security, and internal affairs organs of the USSR and the RSFSR, and military servicemen who recognize their responsibility for the fate of the people and the state and do not wish for a dictatorship, a civil war, or bloodletting are granted the right to operate on the basis of the constitutions and laws of the USSR and RSFSR. As president of Russia, on behalf of the people who elected me, I guarantee you legal protection and moral support.

The fate of Russia and the Union is in your hands.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, RSFSR president
[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 63, 2230 hours

Control of Military Command

91UN2494A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic: On Control of the Armed Forces of the USSR on the Territory of the RSFSR Under the Conditions of the State of Emergency"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] As a result of the attempted coup d'etat undertaken in the night of 18-19 August 1991 the president of the USSR, who is the supreme commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces, has been removed from the office of president of the USSR. T he vice president of the USSR, the USSR defense minister, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Defense Council, and other members of the USSR Defense Council have embarked on the criminal path of a forcible change in the constitutional system, by which they have put themselves outside the law and may not perform duties pertaining to control of the USSR Armed Forces and protection of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republics and the USSR as a whole.

Considering the need to ensure security under the conditions of the absence of constitutional control of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], I resolve:

1. That until full restoration of the activity of the constitutional organs and institutions of state power and administration of the USSR, I will assume command of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR as of 1700 hours Moscow time on 20 August 1991.

2. That all military units and subunits of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR KGB troops deployed on the territory of the RSFSR will remain at their place of permanent basing until a special order from me.

That the units and subunits that have been brought up will return to their places of permanent basing.

3. That in connection with the participation of USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov in the coup d'etat, all orders and other decisions issued by him as of 18 August are canceled.

That hence forward orders and other decisions signed by D.T. Yazov and V.A. Kryuchkov are not to be fulfilled.

4. That Colonel General N.V. Kalinin, commander of the Moscow Military District, will return the units of the Moscow Military District to their places of permanent basing.

5. That the top command personnel, officers and other servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR who are loyal to the USSR Constitution and their military oath sworn to our multinational motherland are subordinate to the president of the RSFSR and will perform their military duty in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR.

6. That my authority as commander of the USSR Armed Forces on the territory of the RSFSR will cease upon the return to the exercise of his duties of the president of the USSR and supreme commander in chief of the USSR Armed Forces or upon the formation, in accordance with the USSR Constitution and laws of the USSR, of new organs of control of the USSR Armed Forces.

7. That A.V. Rutskoy, vice president of the RSFSR, will prepare proposals pertaining to the creation of an RSFSR national guard.

8. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers will put on clothing and cash allowances the units and subunits of the USSR Armed Forces stationed on the territory of the RSFSR.

9. That this edict will take effect as of the moment it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 64

Normal Functioning of Enterprises

91UN2492D Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic: On Assurance of the Functioning of Enterprises and Organizations in the RSFSR"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] The negotiations between the leaders of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Comrade A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who had essentially dissociated himself from the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR on 20 August 1991 confirm the anti-constitutionality of the formation and actions of this committee. About the results of the negotiations and the impending examination by the supreme soviets of the RSFSR and the USSR of the unlawful actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, I resolve:

1. That the leaders of all enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the RSFSR, regardless of their departmental subordination and form of ownership, will henceforth, until special orders of the leadership of the RSFSR, provide for the normal organization of labor in accordance with the laws of the RSFSR and the USSR.

2. To prohibit on the territory of the RSFSR all economic decisions and orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR or other bodies of the USSR from being carried out.

3. That the outfits of enterprises and organizations will in accordance with the RSFSR law "Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity" support the industrial managers in fulfillment of this edict.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 65

SCSE Act Termed 'Unlawful'

91UN2498C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In connection with the actions of the group of persons who have declared themselves the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] I resolve:

1. To consider the announcement of the committee anticonstitutional and to categorize the actions of its organizers as a coup d'etat, which is nothing other than a crime against the state.

2. To consider all decisions adopted on behalf of the so-called SCSE unlawful and null and void on the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The legitimately elected authorities in the shape of the president, Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Council of Ministers and all state and local organs of power and administration of the RSFSR operate on the territory of the Russian Federation.

3. That the actions of officials executing the decisions of the said committee will fall within the compass of the RSFSR Criminal Code and will be subject to prosecution in accordance with the law.

This ukase will take effect the moment it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 19 August 1991, 1210 hours, the Kremlin, Moscow

Defense Minister Appointed

91UN2492B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic [RSFSR]: On the Appointment of the Defense Minister of the RSFSR"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] To ensure precise coordination of troop control and prevent the use of troops against the peaceful population **I resolve**:

Until the restoration in full of the activity of the constitutional organs and institutions of state power and administration to appoint as defense minister of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Colonel General Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated]20 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 67

Leningrad Commander Announced

91UN2493D Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: On the Appointment of the Commander of the Leningrad Military District"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] To organize and control all military units and groups located on the territory of the Leningrad Military District, **I decree**:

1. Until the restoration of all the activity of the constitutional organs and institutions of state power and administration, to appoint Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Shcherbakov commander of the forces of the Leningrad Military District.

2. All military units and groups of the USSR Armed Forces and troops of the USSR KGB and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs located on the territory of the Leningrad Military District are to follow the orders and instructions of Rear Admiral V.N. Shcherbakov, whom I have appointed troop commander.

3. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] State Committee for Questions of Defense is to be informed of all decisions made on the territory of the Leningrad Military District.

4. The present ukase goes into effect from the moment it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, RSFSR president
[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 68

Decree on Takeover of Media

91UN2494B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic: On the RSFSR Mass Media"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] The group of individuals who have declared themselves the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR have adopted decisions on the establishment of control over the mass media and the creation of a special body essentially exercising the functions of political censorship and also on the closure of a whole number of democratic publications. The All-Union Television and Radio Company has in fact become one of the main tools in the accomplishment of the anticonstitutional coup. An attempt has thus been made to reverse the USSR law "The Press and Other Mass Media." As a result of these actions freedom of speech, as a real gain of democracy, has been placed in serious jeopardy.

In the current situation **I resolve**:

1. To cancel the decisions promulgated by the Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR in respect to the mass media as being legally null and void since the moment of their promulgation.

2. To prohibit propaganda of the decisions of the Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, regarding it as an action aimed at support of the coup d'etat in the USSR.

3. To remove from office L.P. Kravchenko, chairman of the All- Union Television and Radio Company. Until the subsequent solution of the question by the president of the USSR, I instruct the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Procuracy to give a legal opinion on his actions.

4. To transfer the All-Union Television and Radio Company to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Government.

To entrust leadership of the All-Union Television and Radio Company prior to the appointment of a chairman in accordance with legislation to M.N. Poltoranin, minister of the press and mass information of the RSFSR.

5. To switch the second all-Union television channel to the administration of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company for the creation of an all-republic television network.

6. That the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Information and the leadership of the All-Union Television and Radio Company provide for the functioning of the mass media on the territory of the RSFSR in accordance with the USSR law "The Press and Other Mass Media."

7. That the leaders of all mass media of the Russian Federation will provide for the prompt notification of

the population of the decisions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the president of the RSFSR and the RSFSR Government.

8. That this edict will take effect as of the moment it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 21 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 69

Coup Supporters Dismissed

91UN2493A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Ukase of the President of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]: On the Dismissal of the Chairmen of Kray Executive Committees and a Number of Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies of the RSFSR"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] For supporting the anticonstitutional activity of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and failure to obey the ukases of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president aimed at halting the coup d'etat, on the basis of Articles 121-8 of the RSFSR Constitution and Article 8 of the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR President," **I decree**:

1. To relieve the following individuals from performance of duties as chairmen of executive committees: Gorovoy, N.I. (Krasnodar Kray);
Borodayev, V.V. (Rostov Oblast);
Tarkhov, V.A. (Samara Oblast);
Toporkov, V.F. (Lipetsk Oblast).

2. The RSFSR Procuracy, the RSFSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the RSFSR Committee for State Security are to investigate the activity of the aforementioned individuals.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, RSFSR president
[Dated] 21 August 1991, Moscow, the Kremlin
No. 70

Decree on Nonprosecution of Military

914B0327B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

["Statement"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] With the goal of banning the exploitation of the confrontation between society and the military, averting civil war, and barring illegal and violent actions with regard to anyone, I state:

People who are servicemen or employees of the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], or the USSR KGB and are involved in the anticonstitutional actions of the committee for the state of emergency will not be punished for carrying out the rulings of their leaders in the event that they quickly and rigorously fulfill the ukases and instructions of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the decrees of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and other organs and officials of the RSFSR.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin
[Dated] 20 August

Appeal to Citizens; Call for Strike

914B0327C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 pp 2-3

["To the Citizens of Russia"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] On the night of 18-19 August 1991, the legally elected president of the country was removed from power.

However this removal may be justified, we are dealing with a rightist, reactionary, anticonstitutional coup.

Despite all the difficulties and harsh experiences the people are suffering, the democratic process in the country is gaining ever wider scope and an irreversible nature. The peoples of Russia are becoming the masters of their own fate.

The unchecked rights of unconstitutional organs, including party organs, have been significantly restricted. The leadership of Russia has taken a decisive position with regard to the Union Treaty, aspiring to unity of the Soviet Union and unity of Russia.

Our position on this issue permitted us to significantly accelerate the preparation of this treaty, to coordinate it with all the republics and to determine a date for the signing: 20 August 1991.

This development of events provoked the animosity of reactionary forces and incited them to irresponsible and adventurist attempts to resolve the most complicated political and economic problems by forcible methods. Attempts to carry out a coup already have been undertaken previously. We considered and still consider such forcible methods unacceptable.

They discredit the USSR before the entire world, undermine our prestige in the world community, and return us to the epoch of the Cold War and the isolation of the USSR from the world community.

All this compels us to declare the so-called committee which has come to power to be illegal. Accordingly, we declare illegal all rulings and orders of that committee. We are convinced that the organs of local power will rigorously follow the constitutional laws and ukases of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

We call on citizens of Russia to give a proper response to the members of the putsch and to demand that the country be returned to normal constitutional development.

Of course, an opportunity must be provided for the president of the country, Gorbachev, to speak before the people. We demand the immediate convocation of a USSR Special Congress of People's Deputies.

We are absolutely convinced that our fellow countrymen will not sanction the arbitrariness and tyranny of the members of the putsch, who have lost all shame and conscience. We call on servicemen to demonstrate high civic consciousness and not to take part in the reactionary coup.

Until these demands are fulfilled, we call for a, open-ended general strike. We do not doubt that the world community will take an objective view of this cynical attempt at a rightist coup.

[Signed] Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
[Dated] 19 August 1991, 0900

Orders on Further Actions

91UN2498D Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Russian leaders' orders: "The Russian Leadership to Lukyanov"]

[Text] On the unconstitutional actions undertaken by the group of persons calling themselves the "Soviet leadership," we call for the immediate implementation of the following necessary actions:

1. The organization within 24 hours of your receipt of this document of a meeting of B.N. Yeltsin, I.S. Silayev, and R.I. Khasbulatov with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, with the presence of G. Yanayev at the meeting.

2. A medical examination of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev within the next three days with the participation of specialists and experts from WHO. The foreign currency expenses will be borne by the Russian Government.

3. The results of the examination to be made public. Given positive results, he is to be immediately afforded the conditions for a resumption of his duties as president of the USSR.

4. The immediate lifting of all restrictions on the activity of the Russian mass media, especially as such restrictions have not been imposed on other republics.

5. Cancellation of the state of emergency throughout the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] while the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is in session; assurance of the unimpeded departure from and arrival in Moscow of people's deputies of the RSFSR.

6. The withdrawal of the troops to the places of their permanent basing.

7. Assurance for the president of the RSFSR of unimpeded functioning in his residence in the Kremlin.

8. The immediate restoration of all forms of communications for the normal functioning of the Russian leadership.

9. An end to the threats against the Russian leadership and assurance of its immunity and freedom of movement.

10. The announcement of the disbanding of the illegally formed State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and the cancellation of all its decrees and directives.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
A.V. Rutskoy, vice president of the RSFSR
I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
R.I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

First Order of New Defense Minister

91UN2492A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Order of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic Defense Minister"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In execution of ukase No. 61 of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of 19 August 1991 and ukase No. 67 of 20 August 1991 I order:

The officers commanding districts, fleets, armies and flotillas; the commanders of formations and military units and the chiefs of establishments, military-training institutions, enterprises and organizations of the USSR Defense Ministry located on the territory of the RSFSR and the kray, oblast, city and rayon military commissars on the territory of the RSFSR:

To prevent the fulfillment of any decisions and orders of the anticonstitutional Committee for the State of Emergency;

To exclude the possibility of the use of troops and naval forces against the peaceful population and the legitimately elected organs of state power;

To adopt immediate measures to return the troops and naval forces to the places of their permanent basing and provide for the continuation of scheduled training exercises.

To report fulfillment via the commanding district officers by 0600 on 21 August 1991.

[Signed] Colonel General K. Kobets, minister of defense of the RSFSR
[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow
No. 1

Repeals Moscow Curfew

91UN2497C Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

["Order of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic Minister of Defense Concerning the Repeal of the Decision on the Curfew in the City of Moscow"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] In connection with information being received on a supposed assault on the White House of Russia by officers of the USSR KGB during the operation of the curfew in the city of Moscow, and in accordance with the duties entrusted to me by a ukase of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic], I order:

1. The repeal of the decision on the introduction of a curfew in the city of Moscow.

2. The preservation of self-control and high vigilance by all subunits, services, and citizens participating in the defense of the RSFSR House of Soviets building.

[Signed] Colonel General K. Kobets, RSFSR minister of defense
[Dated] 20 August 1991, Moscow
No. 2

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Coup

LD2408111191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Late last night via TASS we received a resolution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet on the political situation in the republic which has arisen as a result of the anti-constitutional coup in the USSR. The document says:

On the night of 18 August a coup was carried out in the USSR. The president of the USSR was removed from office. Persons whose identities are known to all formed an anti-constitutional state of emergency body and became its members, thus committing a grave state crime. As a result of these actions, the functioning of the legally elected executive authority of the USSR was paralyzed and enormous damage was done to the country's economy. A particularly tense and explosive situation arose in the Russian Federation, against which the main forces of the putschists were directed. There was bloodshed. Owing to the steadfastness of the people of the RSFSR and their loyalty to their duty and the RSFSR constitution it proved possible to quell the plotters' mutiny in the shortest space of time. The country's president has been returned to power. The plotters are under arrest.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves as follows:

1. To condemn the anti-constitutional conspiracy of the so- called Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and the coup carried out by it.

2. To approve the resolute actions of the RSFSR President, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR government in defending the constitutional system and to recognize the RSFSR president's decrees 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, and 68 as valid on the entire territory of the RSFSR from the moment they were signed by the RSFSR president.

3. To lift all illegal restrictions on the functioning of the news media on the territory of the RSFSR and to instruct the law enforcement bodies of the RSFSR to call to account persons who committed violations of the Law on the Press. To condemn the actions of the central papers PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, AND MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and Central Television, which actively supported the illegal regime and tendentiously reported the real situation in the country which arose as a result of the coup.

4. To take note of the fact that criminal proceedings have been instituted against the members of the so-called Committee for the State of Emergency who committed state crimes. The RSFSR Procuracy is to examine the issue of calling to account officials who supported the anti-constitutional committee.

5. To affirm that the actions of citizens, collectives at enterprises, servicemen, and military units on the territory of the RSFSR in stopping the plotters' activities and defending the constitutional order were legal. Criminal, administrative, or other proceedings against them are prohibited.

6. To instruct the RSFSR president immediately to relieve from their duties officials of executive bodies who failed to comply with the RSFSR Constitution, RSFSR laws, decrees, and instructions of the RSFSR president and decisions of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

7. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium should draft and submit to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a package of measures to ensure the reliable protection of the functioning of the bodies of state authority and administration in emergency situations, taking account of the experience gained in the process of elimination of the criminal activity of the anti-constitutional body.

8. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet expresses profound concern at the state of the economy in the RSFSR and instructs the soviets and executive bodies to adopt decisive measures to make good the damage which has been caused, restore law and order, and decisively implement the economic reform program.

9. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet expresses its condolences to the families and friends of those who perished defending the constitutional order. The RSFSR Council of Ministers is to organize the funeral of the victims of the anti-constitutional revolt.

The resolution was signed by Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Soviet Group To Investigate Coup

LD2408195491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] A parliamentary group has been formed, attached to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and will investigate the participation of the high command of the political staff of the Armed Forces, KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs in the criminal actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

On behalf of the group, Vladimir Seleznev, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Security, appealed to the citizens of Russia, stressing that attempts to involve the army, KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs forces in new political adventures cannot be excluded. He said: For the quickest possible stabilization of the situation, we need information about individuals who actively supported the criminal SCSE, the SCSE group, and are continuing to carry out its orders, as well as data about all noticed transfers of troops and military hardware.

Decree on Moscow Directorates

LD2408055391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] In connection with the coup d'etat in the USSR and the necessity to prevent occurances of this sort as well as to ensure the integrity of structures of law enforcement bodies in the Moscow region, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has decreed:

1. The main directorate of internal affairs of the executive committees of the Moscow city soviet of the People's deputies, the Moscow oblast soviet of people's deputies, and directorate of the State Security Committee in charge of Moscow and Moscow oblast are placed under the subordination of the RSFSR Ministry of Internal affairs and the RSFSR State Security Committee correspondingly

2. Barannikov, RSFSR internal affairs minister; and Ivanchenko, chairman of the RSFSR State Security Committee, should ensure the execution of this decree in three days' time. At the same time they should examine the issue of strengthening the management of the above mentioned organizations.

Khasbulatov Resigns From CPSU

LD2308203191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov today left the ranks of the CPSU. In an interview with a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, the acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet explained that even in the first hours of the putsch, he felt that the conspiracy originated from the leading party structures. My instinctive feeling is increasingly proving to be accurate now that the investigation is under way, he said. In this situation, Khasbulatov does not deem it possible to remain in the ranks of the CPSU any longer.

Decree on 'Illegality' of Coup

914B0327A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2-3

["Decree of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic Council of Ministers on the Illegal Introduction of the State of Emergency"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] The Russians Council of Ministers, having examined the existing situation brought about by the removal of the legally elected president of the USSR from the leadership of the country and the introduction on the territory of the country of a state of emergency, notes the unconstitutionality and illegality of these actions and of the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in the USSR, and decrees:

1. To support the appeal of the leadership of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] entitled "To the Citizens of Russia," to adopt for strict implementation the 19 August 1991 ukase No. 59 of the president of the RSFSR, and to propose to the councils of ministers of the republics belonging to the RSFSR and to the executive organs of power of the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts that they ensure the fulfillment of this ukase.

2. For executive organs of power of the RSFSR at all levels to be strictly guided in all their activities by legislation of the RSFSR functioning on the territory of the RSFSR.

3. To call upon all the governments of all the Union republics to unite forces to defend and support constitutional order over the entire territory of the USSR.

4. To call upon the heads of the governments of all states of the world, the Security Council, and the United Nations to condemn the actions of the SCSE in the USSR and not to acknowledge the legality of its authorities in the USSR and its representatives abroad.

5. Adopted unanimously at a meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] **I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers**
[Dated] 19 August 1991, Moscow
No. 435

'Text' of Yeltsin Decree Recognizing Estonia

LD2408151591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Full text" of degree by Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic President Boris Nikolayev Yeltsin's

decree on recognition of the state independence of the Estonian Republic; issued in Moscow on 24 August]

[Text] 1. In connection with the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic on proclaiming its state independence, the state independence of the Estonian Republic is to be recognized.

2. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Foreign Ministry is to conduct the relevant negotiations and to sign an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and the Estonian Republic.

3. The USSR president is to be called upon to recognize the state independence of the Estonian Republic and to conduct negotiations to settle interstate relations between the USSR and the Estonian Republic.

4. The international community is to be called upon to recognize the state independence of the Estonian Republic.

[Signed] Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR
[Dated] 24 August 1991, the Kremlin, Moscow

Latvian Independence Recognized

LD2408194391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Decree by President of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic on Recognizing Independence of Latvia"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS)—President of Russia Boris Yeltsin issued a decree today "on recognizing the state independence of the Republic of Latvia" in connection with the decision by the Latvian Supreme Soviet to declare the state independence of Latvia.

It gives instructions to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Ministry of Foreign Affairs to hold talks and "sign an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and the Republic of Latvia."

The document calls on the president of the USSR and the international community to recognize the state independence of Latvia.

Yeltsin Meets With Ruutel, Gorbunovs

LD2508155491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, has held two meetings: with Arnold Ruutel, the chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet; and with Anatoliy Gorbunovs, the chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. During the meetings the situation in the USSR since the unsuccessful coup d'etat was discussed, as were economic issues and the problem of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Estonian and Latvian Republics, which proclaimed the restoration of their statehood last week.

As reported, Boris Yeltsin signed decrees on Saturday recognizing the state independence of Estonia and Latvia. In particular an appeal to the USSR president and also to the world community to recognize the statehood of the Estonian and Latvian Republics is contained in the documents. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been commissioned with holding the appropriate talks and with signing agreements on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and these two Baltic Republics.

Stankevich Calls For Constitutional Order

LD2408181791 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—"The victory of the democratic forces should not be soiled with the escalation of barbaric violent actions. It is necessary to restore a normal constitutional order, relying on the legal bodies of power," Sergey Stankevich, adviser to the Russian president and first deputy chairman of the Moscow City Council (Mossovet) said at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

He analysed the developments of the past several days and stressed that the failure of the coup released an enormous flow of human energy. Some people were attempted to form a corps of "professional revolutionaries" who pull down monuments and severely deal with people. According to Stankevich, "semi-criminal elements are coming to the capital, which is very dangerous." All actions should be taken within the framework of the law, he stressed.

In his opinion, during the recent period of time "the pace of the reform slowed down, their direction became unclear, a political centre was non-existent, the leaders made no progress, and holding out in power became their only concern." All this caused the attempted coup. Stankevich believes that "the principal mistake of President Gorbachev was that over the past six years he had not formed a team of his own... The president became a hostage of several pressure groups and his actions looked like balancing, not like following a certain political line."

According to Stankevich, now it is especially important to strengthen democratic institutions, set Moscow streets in order, help the harvesting campaign and keep the crime situation under control. There is another task which is of a more long-term nature. In conditions when the Soviet Communist Party is being shifted to the background of the political life, civilised political parties should emerge which should be able to mobilise people to the implementation of the reforms.

So far as the extraordinary session of the Soviet Parliament opening on August 26 is concerned, Stankevich said he was not sure that the present Parliament would be able to draw lessons from the recent developments.

Crowd, Authorities Detain Moscow Party Leader

OW2308183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1652 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to INTERFAX, First Secretary of the CPSU City Committee Yuriy Prokofiev was detained on Staraya Ploshchad (the Old Square, Soviet Communist Party headquarters) by a crowd that had gathered there. He was shoved into a taxi and, as was announced to the crowd, was taken to the RSFSR Procurator's Office.

Moscow Vice Mayor on City Situation

914B0318A Moscow in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Yu. Luzhkov, vice mayor of Moscow, by V. Belikov in Moscow on 22 August: "The Capital Returns to a Normal Rhythm"]

[Text] **A special session of the Moscow City Soviet discussing the events of recent days in the capital began in the morning of 22 August.**

Prior to the commencement of the session, your IZVESTIYA correspondent interviewed Yu. Luzhkov, vice mayor and premier of the municipal government, who said:

"As is well known, city hall has chosen for its emblem the old Moscow coat of arms—the horseman slaying the dragon, who symbolizes Evil. I believe that our capital and all its inhabitants have in the past anxious days confirmed their fidelity to the ancient coat of arms. Muscovites' high self-discipline and restraint and the selfless actions of the people's deputies of the city and rayon soviets and the organs of the executive made it possible to fully control the most complex situation which had arisen because of the illegal imposition of the state of emergency, the establishment of the curfew and deployment in the city of a large number of troops and combat equipment.

"This was essentially a test of the strength of the new local power structures, which are only just taking shape—city hall and the prefectures—which have proven their complete viability. There were no serious breakdowns in the activity of the municipal services and the supply system, although difficulties did arise when it came to getting the food to the stores, the operation of medical and postal transportation was disrupted and bus and trolley bus traffic was interrupted.

"The rhythm of the city's life was fully restored by Wednesday evening," Yu. Luzhkov continued. "All the barriers have been removed from the traffic lanes of the city's highways, but the obstacles and barricades put up by Muscovites to protect vitally important facilities will not be cleared away until the situation has been completely normalized. The Moscow City Soviet session, which has just begun, intends to hear explanations from Colonel General N. Kalinin, commandant of the city, and Lieutenant General N. Myrinkov, chief of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs of the capital, on their actions and on the orders they gave in the period of the state of emergency.

"Muscovites want and have the right to know which officials of various levels behaved how in the serious situation which had taken shape and which became a kind of 'moment of truth' for the defenders of democratic transformations and their opponents."

"The confrontation in Moscow was not, it is most greatly to be regretted, without casualties—three inhabitants of the city died. How will their funerals be organized?"

"Muscovites will be able to express our common grief and sympathy to the nearest and dearest at the time of the farewell to the deceased on 24 August in Manezh Square. Then the cortege will proceed along Novyy Arbat to the place where they died and then on to the House of Soviets of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment. The funeral, all the expenses of which have been assumed by the government of Russia and Moscow's City Hall, will take place at Vagankovskoye Cemetery."

"How are things with respect to the capital's food supply situation?"

"The receipt of food from other regions has not been disrupted. The government of Moscow is in conjunction with the Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee adopting decisive measures for the preservation of the agricultural products of the new harvest coming to Moscow from the Moscow area. The militia and the prosecutor's offices are putting a decisive stop to the instances of the theft of vegetables from the fields and their illegal transportation outside the capital oblast, which have increased in frequency of late."

Moscow Soviet Considers Post-Coup Measures

LD2308163291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] At an extraordinary session of the Moscow city soviet it has been proposed that the mayor of Moscow and the law enforcement bodies of the city take all measures to eliminate the consequences of the attempted coup d'etat. They have been entrusted with accounting for the criminal, administrative, and disciplinary responsibility of those officials who have crudely violated legality in Moscow and have hindered the implementation of decisions by the lawful organs of power. In accordance with legislation, measures will be taken to eliminate on the territory of Moscow those public associations that carry out actions aimed at overthrowing

and forcibly changing the constitutional system. The Moscow city soviet requested that the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs immediately appoint Major General of Militia Vyacheslav Sergeyevich Komissarov as head of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the city of Moscow. It also was decided, in connection with the support for illegal activities by a number of publishing houses in Moscow, to approach the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet with a proposal that the printing houses belonging to them be transferred to the authority of the Moscow city soviet, and to set the date for the implementation of the decree of the RSFSR president for departization on the territory of the city of Moscow for 15 September 1991.

The Moscow city soviet also is asking the presidents of the Union and of Russia to transfer the property of the Moscow channel of central television to the ownership of the Moscow city soviet.

Further on Arrest of Pavlov, Starodubtsev

LD2308232891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2209 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program moderated by Mikhail Osokin]

[Text] [Osokin] Now for an unexpected change to our program. Aleksandr Gurnov, our colleague from "Vesti," has just come to us, and he says that he has sensational news.

[Gurnov] Good evening. I have not been in this studio for a while, but it is nice that nothing has changed here since then. [Gurnov was a presenter for "Television News Service" [TSN] until he was sacked shortly after Kravchenko became head of Gosteleradio. In recent months he has appeared as an announcer on Russian television's "Vesti."] Yes, Mikhail, I really do have some interesting news which my colleagues from TSN proposed that I might report here since our broadcasting time on the second channel has already finished.

I, together with our cameraman, my colleague Vladimir Makarov, have just arrived frm Kuznetskiy Bridge and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procuracy. We were present there at an event which I think will remain in the memory and will be shown on many television screens. We cannot show you because we shot it on this amateur camera, and a little time is needed to develop and receive the pictures.

The following happened: Valentin Stepankov, the Russian procurator, brought—just a minute, I will formulate this correctly—acquainted Pavlov and Starodubtsev with the decision on their arrest. We went there to be present at this.

Starodubtsev appeared first. He was taken into the office, he signed the decision, but at the same time he stated that he did not consider himself to be a criminal. He was told that the court would decide this, and that he was now under arrest as a suspect. Then during an interview for the "Vesti" program, Starodubtsev said that he did not see that he was at fault; however, he called the putsch which had taken place a crime.

Pavlov asked to telephone his wife. He could not reach his wife, but he was permitted to write a note to her in which he asked for books, comfortable clothes, a toothbrush, and a razor. The latter was, of course, forbidden. Then in an interview for "Vesti," Pavlov said that he never expected that the putsch would end so quickly nor that it would finish as it did with its participants being escorted to the Russian Procuracy.

Pavlov spoke at great length about the reasons for the putsch, and he named the cadres issue as the main reason. He named people. The reason for the failure of the putsch was people. People from which side? He said, those who were supporting us.

So, today truly has been a surprising one, as I said, Mikhail. But I would even say it is not so much surprising as terrifying. After all, a revolution is occurring in the country. Revolutions in Russia—we know how terrible and bloody they are. Therefore, we have been waiting tensely all day today and will wait for news tensely during all the following days. Let us hope this will be a velvet revolution.

Tomorrow [24 August] the "Vesti" program will tomorrow carry a report on what we have filmed today. Thank you, Misha.

Vorkuta Miners Hold Rally, End Strike

LD2208172991 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi Republic), August 22 TASS—All twelve striking mines in the Vorkuta region resumed work, increasing production and delivery of coal to consumers.

At their rally on the city's central square and meetings at work places, miners expressed support for the legally elected President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin, and expressed resolve to actively oppose any attempts to stop democratic transformations in the country.

Kuzbass Miners Return to Work

LD2308080791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo (Western Siberia), 23 Aug (TASS)—Kuzbass miners (Western Siberia) have ended the strike and are working normally today. As recently as yesterday some Kuzbass mines did not work at full capacity and suspended deliveries of coal to consumers, demanding that the coup organizers be punished.

According to the information service of the workers' committees, the strike can be regarded as over. We recall that the strike that was declared in connection with the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency is the shortest—about three days—since the July 1989 mass protests by Kuzbass working people.

Belorussia

Supreme Soviet Chairman Defends Coup

LD2408180591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1150 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By Minsk correspondent Nikolay Kuznetsov on conversation between Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, and republican peoples deputies (Borshchevskiy), (Belenkiy), (Germenchuk), (Golubev), (Zablotskiy), and (Naumchik) on 19 August in Dementey's office in Minsk]

[Text] On 19 August, on the day when the junta announced their seizure of power in the USSR, (Borshchevskiy), (Belenkiy), (Germenchuk), (Golubev), (Zablotskiy), and (Naumchik), opposition republic's peoples' deputies, came to the office of Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia. They were not expected. In reply to a demand to give an evaluation of the coup d'etat and to call a session of the parliament, Nikolay Dementey sharply interrupted the deputies. He was not even confused by a dictating machine that had been put on his desk. The head of the republic parliament, elected by its Communist majority, was convinced that the Union president was already a spent force. Nikolay Dementey demonstrated his full knowledge of what was going on and, moreover, his belief in its irreversibility.

[Begin recording] [Dementey] Have you seen Gorbachev personally? Have you spoken to Gorbachev personally? Why did he make this statement [not further identified]? What statement? It will be there. I am not a kindergartener. You are here with me, with an adult, so treat me as an adult. Don't hurry. If a time comes when I give up my post then can you make me keep it? What do you have to do with what statement Gorbachev has made? Do you know about that?

[Deputy] [words indistinct] to defend the Constitution.

[Dementey] So defend it. But if Gorbachev over six years came to such a difficult position in which he, as always, was and continued to stay, he came to this condition-...[changes thought] again, I am telling you not because of my post, I am telling you this as a human being. He came to this condition. Because anybody can come to such a condition. He came to this condition. This group, to be more accurate, Yanayev was with him and they gave birth to this statement together, due to his health condition. I am repeating it again.

[Deputy, interrupting] Where is Gorbachev now?

[Dementey] If you want to listen to me, then yes. [sentence as heard] If you know everything yourselves, then don't be in the way, if you know everything. If you have come to see me to find out something, then you'd better listen to me. If you know everything...[changes thought] if you know everything then you will inform me, you will be in command, you will give commands and I will implement them.

But if you have come here to listen to me, then I am telling you: Gorbachev exhausted, let us say, all psychological factors, what can he do further? And he says that he is not going to move any further—let us think together. What happened is in line with the Constitution, everything is being done in line with the Constitution. I am asking you: Do not invent any conjectures, do not make any such sharp statements. But since the man has relieved himself of his powers, the country cannot stay-...[changes thought] and when the president relieved himself of his powers and there would be nobody to take over from him, I think, it would have been more uncertainty than when the vice president took over power today. Do not interrupt me. And the fact that today he proposes...[changes thought] where today there is a threat of danger to any citizen who sits at our table or who lives in the country, shouldn't these bodies defend the citizen? Therefore, what happened today and what is still happening is a change [of power] because the man relieved himself of his powers and another took over.

I am asking you: Do not sow panic, do not set people against one another, and do not instigate. What the Congress of People's Deputies has to do, it will do. We do not have any questions here and we do not see a need to gather and to make noises. Yes, I declare, yes, 24 hours before that the president resigned. There should not be lawlessness—there should be continuity. If one power goes another takes over.

[Deputy] Do you recognize the lawfulness of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which was formed under the leadership of Yanayev, and second, you are saying that nothing is threatening either democracy or our sovereignty or our citizens?

[Dementey] I repeat that based on my belief—and by my age of a person of 60 with 45 years of work—I affirm to you that the man left but life will continue. Nothing threatening us, the Belorussians, has happened. [end recording]

That was Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, the person who does not know his native language, the figure about whose actions and words there are innumerable anecdotes, a former high-ranking party apparatchik. On the day of the coup d'etat, he had already buried perestroyka but, when the putsch failed, he immediately changed his guise. An emergency session of the Belorussian parliament opened today, 24 August. Opposition deputies have put forward the question on the resignation of werewolves for its consideration.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Opens 24 Aug

Meets in Extraordinary Session

LD2408094191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0807 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet has opened in Minsk. According to a report of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, it is proposed to examine questions of the present moment and the Union treaty. The POSTFAKTUM AGENCY adds that the session is being convened on the insistence of deputies who are members of the parliamentary opposition, the Belorussian People's Front.

Agenda Discussed

OW2408170191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet opened a session in Minsk on Saturday. The agenda is being discussed. A member of the Minsk strike committee Valeriy Kovalyov told IF [INTERFAX] that the session is presided over by chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Nikolai Dementey.

The parliament took a vote on whether the session should be chaired by Dementey's first deputy Stanislav Shushkevich who, Kovalyov says, resolutely opposed the Emergency Committee, but Shushkevich received several votes short of the required number.

According to Kovalyov, the parliament is to decide on the agenda of the session. The official agenda contains the current situation and the Union treaty, but the opposition suggests the discussion of the support of parliament chairman Dementey, Council of Ministers Chairman Kebich, First Secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Malofeyev, for the Emergency Committee, the nationalisation of the Soviet Communist Party and the Belorussian Communist Party property in the republic and a ban on the Communist Party in Belorussia.

A 50,000-strong rally is taking place on a square in downtown Minsk in support of the opposition's demands in parliament that was organized by the municipal strike committee and the Belorussian Popular Front. According to Kovalyov, the police are protecting the rally and no incidents have been reported.

Decision on Independence Adopted

LD2508182591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This report was recorded during the afternoon, but by evening everything had changed. Our correspondent reports that agreement has been reached at the session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet on the key issues of the agenda. The republic's parliament has temporarily suspended the activity of the Belorussian Communist Party. A decision has been adopted on handing the property of the Belorussian Communist Party over to the republic.

A law on giving the status of constitutional law to the declaration of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was adopted unanimously.

A decision was adopted on ensuring the political and economic independence of Belorussia.

Dementey Resignation Demanded

LD2508114491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] A session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet is taking place in Minsk today. Just a few hours ago, a fight broke out there. The opposition is demanding the resignation of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, as well as of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, since they undertook no measures during the putsch and in this way, assisted the putschists. Another section of the Supreme Soviet, composed of several members of the group of communists and veterans, support the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. One deputy adopting the former stance called on the people to go out to the square and support their demand. In connection with the fact that the voting yielded no results, a break was declared until 1500. This interval has ended and we are waiting for new reports from Minsk.

'Conservative' Dementy Resigns

LD2508132191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Nikolay Dementey, the Belorussian leader, has handed in his resignation. This has been reported to journalists today by his aide. Reporting this information, the REUTERS agency points out that the leader, known for his conservative views, has been constantly subject to criticism from left-wing people's deputies.

Speaking today in parliament, Nikolay Dementey denied his participation in the conspiracy, but announced his resignation after a meeting with leaders of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. Today it has been accepted.

INTERFAX on Resignation

OW2508140191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday, Nikolay Dementey, chairman of Belorussia's Supreme Soviet submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the Supreme Soviet.

Belorussia's prime minister, Vyacheslav Kebich, tabled several topics for consideration by the Supreme Soviet. These included a declaration of Belorussia's independence.

In an address to parliament, Anatoliy Malofeyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of Belorussia's Communist Party, announced that the Belorussian Communist Party was withdrawing from the USSR's Communist Party and that he himself was resigning from the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Report on Session

LD2608094291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 91

[By unidentified correspondent on the Belorussian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk on 25 August; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey has resigned. The Belorussian Supreme Soviet accepted his resignation from the Belorussian Supreme Soviet chairmanship. The session proceeds emotionally, turbulently, and trenchantly:

[Begin Belorussian People's Deputy Z.S. Poznyak recording] The Belorussian Supreme Soviet session is into its second day. It is proceeding with great difficulty because 86 percent of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet deputies are Communists and, moreover, from the Communist Party nomenklatura. During the very first hours of the 19 August putsch, the opposition—the People's Front of Belorussia—came out on the side of democracy. It is a matter of great regret that the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium and Supreme Soviet Chairman Dementey, personally, effectively supported the junta, just as the junta was supported quite openly by the Belorussian Communist Party—that is, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, headed by its first secretary. That's why it was only today that Supreme Soviet Chairman Dementey's resignation came about, and all the issues that the opposition have raised have still not been examined, including the following matters: the personal responsibility of those who supported the junta; the prohibition and disbandment of the Belorussian Communist Party; the question of giving the declaration on Belorussian sovereignty the status of a constitutional law—that is, declaring Belorussian independence; the question of banning party activity, on removing the Communist Party from the republic; the question of transferring to the exclusive jurisdiction of the republic such organs as the KGB and the internal affairs ministry; and the question of creating a national army. Other matters include, in particular, the KGB and the question of the structure of political investigation and the structure of disinformation being destroyed so that at the next session a program for KGB actions might be presented. Apart from that, the question has been raised of holding the next session in the immediate future, which will pass a law on elections, announce the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, and announce new elections in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. [end recording]

Moldova

Snegur Bans Political Activity in State Bodies

AU2408160191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1054 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24 Aug—In order to ensure political parties, mass and public organizations equal rights in the making of the republic's policies, in order to avoid their interference in the activities of state bodies, Moldova's President Mircha Snegur issued a decree banning the activities of committees or such like structures of existing or prospective political parties and other mass organizations in the state administration bodies at all levels, in the institutions and enterprises all over the territory of Moldova, irrespective of their affiliation.

The decree also stipulates that the citizens' participation or non-participation in the activities of political parties and mass organizations should not be used as a pretext for the limitation of the citizens' rights.

The decree, writes MOLDOVA PRES, becomes effective ten days from its release.

Departyization Decree Issued

LD2308124891 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 23 TASS—Moldavian President Mircha Snegur today issued a decree on banning all party activities within state structures and enterprises on the republic's territory irrespective of their subordination, the MOLDOVA-PRES news agency reads.

The document notes "participation or non-participation of citizens in political parties and mass public movements cannot be a ground for limiting their rights, including the right to occupy posts, unless this is determined by the Moldavian legislation".

"In their activities, state employees shall be guided by the republican legislation and are not bound by decisions of political parties and mass public movements," the decree reads.

The decree "is not applied to organisational structures of trade unions, women's, veteran, youth, scientific and technical, cultural and enlightening and other voluntary associations of citizens, having no political aims and carrying out their activities in non-working hours".

The republican government is instructed to take necessary measures to employ persons dismissed in the course of implementing the decree and eliminate mentioning

political party or mass public movement membership in official documents submitted to state bodies.

The decree will go into effect ten days after it is published.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Bans Communist Party

AU2408155291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1049 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24 Aug—"For decades, the Communist Party of Moldova, an arm of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), has been promoting an anti-popular policy", writes a resolution of the Presidium of the Moldovan Parliament, regarding the Communist Party of Moldova, and relayed to ROMPRES by MOLDOVA PRES.

"The Communist Party of Moldova is trying by all means to maintain the totalitarian regime, the centralized administrative system and the old practices. The Communist Party has obstructed the national resurrection of the Moldovan people and plotted for the fabrication, in the territory of our sovereign state, of two pseudo-republics—puppets of the central power, has hampered the economic and political reforms, thus proving its reactionary conservative character", shows the document, which further runs:

"The Communist Party betrayed its true face and vilely camouflaged intentions in the contribution it made and support it gave to the right-wing anti-constitutional coup in the night of 18-19 August 1991." Consequently, runs the resolution, "The activities of the Communist Party are forbidden on the entire territory of the republic."

"All the assets of the Communist Party are hereby confiscated and considered the republic's state property, the right of administration being therefore transferred to the government of the Republic of Moldova."

The resolution requests the government of Moldova to take under its guardianship the nationalized wealth of the Communist Party and the competent USSR authorities to urgently forward to the Republic of Moldova all the archive documents and materials related to the activities of the Communist Party of Moldova.

Property Under Guard

OW2308201991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of Moldova's parliament passed a ruling banning the activities of the republican Communist Party throughout Moldova. Its property shall be nationalized.

Moldova's government has been instructed to place the party's property under guard, close its bank accounts and transfer the funds to the state.

The ruling signed by Chairman of the Presidium of Moldova's parliament Aleksandr Mozhanu is effective since the moment of signing.

Party Chief Leaves CPSU Politburo

LD2308130691 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 23 TASS—Grigoriy Yeremey, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, has sent a message to Gorbachev about his intention to withdraw from the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, because he regarded as impossible his future membership there.

He took this decision because during the coup neither the secretariat, nor the politburo took measures to protect the General Secretary of the Central Committee. Yeremey also took into account the recommendations of the plenary meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee held on Thursday.

Supreme Soviet Statement on 'Reactionary Forces'

AU2408160091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1105 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24 Aug—Discussing the problems entailed by the application of Moldova's parliament resolution of 21 August 1991 relative to removing the consequences of the military-communist putsch, the Presidium of the Moldovan Parliament has issued a statement showing that life has come back to normal over the largest part of Moldova's territory.

However, in certain places on the left bank of the Dniester and in the southern districts of the republic, the territorial administrative bodies and the "United Workers Councils" outlawed since the autumn of 1990, which, during the days of the coup cheered and fully supported the putschists with the aid of armed formations illegally created and with the tacit consent of part of the military, are maintaining the state of putsch, trying to prevent Moldova's governmental and legislative bodies to reestablish constitutional order. [sentence as received]

Fearing they may be held responsible for their acts, the accomplices to the coup generated tension in some of the republic's towns, on 23 August, by spreading false information, by blackmail and demagogic statements.

These reactionary forces have a marked tendency, as duly pointed out by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, of ascribing the victory of the democratic forces to themselves in the attempt of seizing the power again.

The leadership of the Republic of Moldova will persist in its future actions in solving all the social, economic and political issues only by parliamentary, constitutional methods. At the same time, it will take legal action, in keeping with the laws in force, against the accomplices to

the coup, who have attempted at seizing power by violent means and at changing the constitutional order, winds up the declaration of the Moldovan parliament.

Newspapers Supportive of Coup Attempt Banned

LD2308151791 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev Aug 23 TASS—The Presidium of the Moldavian Parliament has suspended the publication of a number of republican, city and district newspapers which, according to its resolution, turned between August 19 and 21 into "an instrument of propaganda of anti-constitutional disorder, violating in this way the constitution and the laws of the republic and ignoring the stand of the state authorities."

Newspapers of party committees, including publications of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA and KUVYNTUL (WORD), as well as a number of newspapers published by local government authorities of the Dniester region with the predominantly Russian-speaking population, are on this list.

Newspapers not registered in accordance with the Soviet law on the press, ratified by the republican parliament, will also be banned. Their technical facilities and financial resources will be confiscated.

Local radio broadcasting was suspended in two cities and six districts of the republic. The public prosecutor's office was assigned to investigate actions of editors of those publications. Publishers were allowed to submit applications to the government to permit the resumption of publication of the banned newspapers or the registration of new ones.

The resolution adopted by the presidium assigns the government to suspend, until further notice, the work of the TASS office in Moldavia.

'Rumors' of Riot Police in Dniester Dismissed

OW2308162191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Oborok addressed the residents of Tiraspol, Bendery and Dubossary on radio. He urged them to be calm and exercise restraint. He qualified the rumours that local riot police (OMON) had been dispatched to their region as crude slander. The leaders of separatists who backed the abortive coup, said Konstantin Oborok, will be brought to justice in accordance with decisions of Moldova's parliament.

Ukraine

Supreme Soviet Opens Extraordinary Session

LD2408093791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0807 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has opened in Kiev. Our correspondent reports that one question has been raised for examination by the deputies—a question on the political situation. For its part, the POSTFAKTUM AGENCY holds a laconic view. It adds that members of the opposition parliamentary faction, the Narodnaya Rada, are proposing that the following questions should be examined at the session: the withdrawal of the Ukraine from the USSR, the creation of the Armed Forces of the Ukraine, the state security bodies of the republic, and its own law enforcement bodies, and the removal from office and the bringing of criminal proceedings against all officials in the Ukraine who recognized the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], the banning of the activities of the CPSU in the Ukraine and the nationalization of its property.

Independence Declaration Adopted

OW2608081091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Parliament in the Ukraine on Saturday adopted a declaration of independence and cancellation of Soviet laws on Ukrainian territory. The declaration is due to come into effect after approval by a national referendum which will be held concurrently with presidential elections on December 1.

Referendum on Independence 1 Dec

OW2408183391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet passed a resolution and the text of an act proclaiming the Ukraine an independent and sovereign state within the present-day territory. The Union laws have no effect on the republican territory. According to the ruling, the act takes effect the moment it is approved by the national referendum during the presidential election in the Ukraine on December 1.

The resolution was passed by 346 votes. The Ukrainian parliament numbers 450 deputies, but fewer than 400 are present at the session.

Legislators Hail Yeltsin

LD2408210791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Message of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR) Supreme Soviet to the Supreme Soviet and president of Russia," read by Deputy Moroz at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev; Moroz reads in Russian—live]

[Text] [Moroz] Today, 24 August 1991, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet solemnly passed an act declaring Ukraine an independent, self-standing, democratic state. The act went into force immediately after it was approved by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

On this momentous day for our peoples and states, we turn to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and RSFSR President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin with words of sincere appreciation for their heroic actions in defending freedom and democracy during the 19-21 August putsch. We address you with the expression of firm conviction that the age-old traditions of mutual support between the progressive forces of the Ukraine and Russia will grow stronger in the future, thus guaranteeing political, economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation between our fraternal peoples. We are affirming our obligations to steadfastly observe all articles of the treaty on the foundations of interstate relations between the Ukraine and Russia and develop mutually advantageous links for the benefit of our peoples, for our freedom.

I propose to you to approve this text. [applause]

[Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk] Will we approve this text?

[Deputies, in unison] Yes!

Kravchuk Wants Republican Guard

OW2408182591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking Saturday at an extraordinary session of the republican parliament, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk asked for special powers to issue normative acts covering the entire Ukrainian territory. The lack of such powers did not allow him to take cardinal independent decisions during the coup attempt, says Kravchuk, and he could only affix his signature to the documents passed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Kravchuk supported the opposition's suggestion concerning the creation of a republican Defense Council that would safeguard republican sovereignty in time of peace and war, and of a national guard, and supported the opposition's motion that the Ukrainian KGB and the troops stationed in the Ukraine be accountable to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

The head of the republican parliament called for the revision of the text of the Union treaty. He suggested that no haste should be made in signing it, given the situation. According to Kravchuk, the Ukraine can only join a Union that would rule out any possibility of an attempt on its sovereignty.

Kravchuk said that he was frightened by calls in Russia that most of the portfolios should go in the future Union government to Russian citizens.

Kravchuk agreed on the need to set up a commission to investigate the role of the officials, agencies implicated in the coup.

Kravchuk, Others Address UkSSR Supreme Soviet

LD2608001191 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Kiev radio is on the air, this is Svitlana Zadvorna welcoming you. I present for the attention of esteemed listeners a report from the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine that took place in Kiev today. The deputies observed the memory of defenders of the Russian Parliament, who lost their lives in Moscow on the night of 20-21 August, with a minute of silence. The deputies also honored with a minute of silence the memory of Bohdan Kotyk, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and former chairman of Lvov city soviet of people's deputies, who died prematurely at the age of 55.

At the demand of Narodna Rada, the opposition in the republic's parliament, the extraordinary session was convened before the time suggested by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. He proposed to hold it after the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Today the deputies gathered for an extraordinary session to express their attitude to the attempted coup and to assess the actions of the Cabinet of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet, and parties and movements of Ukraine during the three days of 19-21 August. It was decided that Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine; Oleksandr Moroz, representative of the parliamentary majority; and Ihor Yukhnovskyy, representative of the opposition, would deliver reports. You will now be able to listen to parts of these speeches. I present them in the sequence in which they were made at the session. Leonid Kravchuk speaks:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] How did we have to act in that not only extraordinary but also unusual situation for everyone? What measures were necessary to accomplish a major task: to preserve public peace and tranquillity and to ensure that tanks do not crush our main achievements—democracy, glasnost, and the national aspiration to state sovereignty? In the first place how to find one's bearings in this situation? There was no official information, apart from the information which had sounded importunately on the central radio and television all morning. The chairman and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist

Republic [UkSSR), as well as the Cabinet of Ministers, learned about all the events in exactly the same way as all citizens. The repeated attempts to telephone Mikhail Sergeyevich in the Crimea were to no avail. A telephone operator replied sweetly that Mikhail Sergeyevich had requested that no one should disturb him. The later attempt to reach Gorbachev with the help of our KGB was of no effect either. To a certain extent General Varennikov clarified the arrangement of forces with a soldier's straightforwardness. He arrived from Moscow at night and unceremoniously warned that any attempts to fail to implement resolutions of the committee or to carry out acts of civil disobedience would immediately result in the imposition of the state of emergency in those regions of the republic where they would take place. Therefore, one had to act in a responsible way and have a care about the fate of the people, who could be drawn into a terrible catastrophe any minute by the evil will of the mutineers. In this explosive situation we considered it to be our immediate duty to declare our position with regard to the committee and its decisions, to calm the people, assure them of the inviolability of constitutional principles of social life in Ukraine and of our course on the republic's state sovereignty, and call for the retention of balance and the normal rhythm of life. This I did in my speech on Ukrainian television at 16:19. The session of the presidium was taking place during the period of two days, in the evening of the 19th and during the whole day on 20 August, and there was much tension there. At the beginning I stressed that I would never recognize the competence of this committee and said that we had to act according to the situation which at that time was (?not clear). (?We) postponed the session of the presidium, continuing it on 20 August, and adopted the resolution which you know. [Shouting heard from the hall] Yes, we were late and judging from today's position it is really soft. However, there is a position there, although without [word indistinct] words. We recognized that resolutions of the committee are not in force in the Ukraine. I would like to present to you the records of our conversation with General Varennikov. Masyk, first deputy prime minister, who was present, was making notes and we recreated them. Hurenko, people's deputy and first secretary of the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee, was there. When I was going to the Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin phoned me on the car phone. He said he did not know anything either and asked if I knew anything, if I knew what had happened to Gorbachev. I said I did not know anything either. How shall we act? Boris Nikolayevich asked. I said openly that I thought we should not recognize this committee until the session of the Supreme Soviet had met. He said: I will not recognize it either. Now, my answers to the general: The committee is unconstitutional with reference to Article 2 of the law and we cannot recognize it until the session of the Supreme Soviet. First Deputy Prime Minister Masyk who was present gave support in this part and stressed that we could not recognize this committee and its decisions. I said that we would live in the future according to our own laws and would not go back on sovereignty, because we did not consider decisions of the committee to be lawful. [end recording]

Deputy Oleksandr Moroz speaks on behalf of the parliament's majority.

[Begin Moroz recording] [Passage omitted] The party itself is not the same as it was before 1985 or even January 1987. If the plenum of the Central Committee, which is due to take place in the near future, does not make bold to announce the fact that Ukraine's communists become autonomous, I assume the responsibility for creating a Ukrainian Communist Party. (?I see) that the party is not developing in the right direction, not in the direction of democracy or restructuring. [end recording]

Here is the third speech by Ihor Yukhnovskyy, representative of the opposition.

[Begin recording] [Yukhnovskyy] Directed by the party and with the KGB and the army taking part, a considerable part of Ukraine was a virtual accomplice in the coup almost in all parts. This leaves a blot of shame on the Supreme Soviet and the Cabinet of Ministers and a reason for national contempt by other states and peoples. Let us examine the course of events in a short account. On the morning of 19 August, chairmen and representatives of all democratic parties and movements arrive in Kiev: the Party of Democratic Revival, the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Peasants Party, the Green Party, the Social Democratic Party, Rukh, Memorial, the Women's Association, and others. They unite in the Association of Democratic Ukraine. The Association of Democratic Ukraine recognized the coup to be unconstitutional and the arrest of the president to be a crime against the state. It calls on the people of Ukraine to stage strikes and civil disobedience. Before 18:00 Narodna Rada comes down to the Supreme Soviet. A conversation between deputies and the chairman takes place. Deputies insist on giving support to the position of Russia and Yeltsin. He refused support to Yeltsin, he said Ukraine would go its own way. What about the stormy and futile sitting of the presidium? It was a competition in helplessness for Narodna Rada. Members of Narodna Rada in the presidium insist on non-recognition of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Members of the presidium from the Communist Party of the Ukraine reject this. The chairman does not show his attitude. Only, he said, after the decision...

[Kravchuk, interrupting] It is not true.

[Yukhnovskyy] Only, he said, after the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, would it be possible to say whether it is a coup or it is not a coup, because they agreed with Varennikov that the martial law would not be imposed—in exchange for what?

A half-hearted resolution of the presidium, in which the validity of resolutions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency is not recognized on the territory of

Ukraine until they are clarified by the USSR Supreme Soviet and examined at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, was adopted only on the evening of 20 August, after the sitting which lasted all day. In fact there is no union as a state. The republics are de facto independent states, they have to take full power in their hands. Russia is doing this. How do we have to do it in the Ukraine? First and foremost it has to be by making the republic free of communists. It has to start with departyization of enterprises and institutions, army, and KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the apparatus of the Supreme Soviet, and the apparatus of the government. Second, holding a referendum with the questions: one—Do you want Ukraine to be an independent democratic state? two—Do you want elections of soviets together with elections of president of the republic to be held ahead of schedule? Third question. The republic controls its territory. This means nationalization of the entire property on the territory of Ukraine and the beginning of economic and legal agreements with republics, creation of a national guard and a ministry of defense, and division of the army. Disbandment of the KGB agencies and creation of a new system of security. Immediate departyization and nationalization of printing houses and mass media. Ukraine declares itself a subject of international law and joins the Vienna Convention. In an agreement with other republics it settles the issue of dividing the USSR's foreign debt which it takes upon itself, as well as its part of the USSR's responsibility in international agreements. [end recording] [Passage omitted]

Passions were not only boiling up in the conference hall of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. A great number of people gathered in front of the Ukrainian parliament building on the square. They came close to the porches of the Supreme Soviet. Judging by the posters which people were holding in their hands, representatives of many political parties from various regions of the republic gathered on the square. I will name some of the slogans on handmade posters : "Down With the CPSU", "Disgrace on Kravchuk", "We are Against the Union Treaty", "Freedom and Independence for Ukraine". [passage omitted]

Opposition Chief Wants Supreme Soviet Resignation

OW2408183091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leader of the parliamentary opposition Yuriy Yukhnovskiy accused Leonid Kravchuk that he had failed to epress his stand on the coup during the first sitting of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium following the coup attempt (August 19).

According to Yukhnovskiy, Kravchuk banned the discussion or even reading a telegram in support of the Russian leadership at the presidium sitting. The republican procurator Potebenko did not describe the coup as anticonstitutional either.

Yukhnovskiy suggested passing a resolution proclaiming the Ukraine a fully independent democratic country beginning today, banning the Communist Party in the republic; but all communists who did not support the coup should be guaranteed jobs and pay lest the campaign develop into the a harassment campaign against all communists.

Further on, communists, says Yukhnovsky, can form any parties that do not urge violence and strife.

He also suggested that the parliament rule on the resignation of the Supreme Soviet as it failed to organize a popular movement against the coup.

Kravchuk Explains Coup Condemnation 'Hesitations'

LD2408151491 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Yesterday, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, held a press conference for foreign journalists. Not a single Ukrainian journalist was present at that press conference. Leonid Kravchuk explained his hesitations in comdemning the coup d'etat from its very first days by the fact that he could not express his personal opinion and was, therefore, obliged to make public the opinion of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. For several days, members of this body could not arrive at a common opinion of whether the resolution of the putschists are liable to be fulfilled on Ukraine's territory or not. At the same time, Leonid Kravchuk said the time will come when every high-ranking official in Ukraine will report on his actions during the coup d'etat.

Supreme Soviet Stand Against Coup Reported

PM2308150391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[By S. Tsikora under general headline: "Reaction Did Not Prevail!": "Kiev"]

[Text] For two days the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium was in session determining its attitude toward the formation and actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

The press was not invited to attend the debate, but the overall picture can be pieced together from the news conference addressed by several leaders of Supreme Soviet standing commissions. They said that the hardest part was for some presidium members to overcome their desire to dodge a clear-cut assessment of the situation in the country and wait for things to quiet down. Ultimately, using a rollcall vote, the presidium adopted a statement which made clear the relationship between the republic's leaders and the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

The main provision of the document is as follows: Until the decision is made by a Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session, the SCSE

resolutions in the USSR have no legal force on Ukrainian territory. The presidium stated that the state of emergency was not being introduced on Ukrainian SSR territory, that there were no grounds for its introduction, that authorities legally elected by the people are in power in the republic, and that the Supreme Soviet will consistently uphold the Ukraine's state sovereignty, human rights, and the democratic gains begun in 1985. The Ukrainian SSR Cabinet of Ministers' measures to protect the republic's consumer market and step up the fight against crime and corruption were supported yet again.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium statement was adopted in the evening and was not carried by the central press. It was read out on the radio. An interview with L. Kravchuk, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, was also broadcast. Talking about his personal attitude toward what was happening, he noted that changes in the country's life were inevitable since, on the one hand, the center could no longer control the situation in the country, and, on the other, it did not want to hand over control to the republics. This question could have been decided by the congress, where deputies would have had a chance to put their complaints to the president and the government. This route was not taken, however. Now the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to deal with the problem—but in the context of resolutions on the state of emergency being in force.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sitting also noted that all state organs of power in the republic are functioning reliably, and that industry and transport are working. The republic's political parties have differing attitudes toward the emergency measures taken outside the Ukraine. S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, stated that Communists share the "call for calm, balance, reason, strict observance of law and order, and the prevention of confrontation and friction voiced in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman's 19 August speech on Ukrainian TV." More radical was the statement from the All-Ukrainian Working People's Solidarity Association (the former All-Ukrainian Strike Committee), which announced that it was gearing up for a strike on all Ukrainian territory. "RUkH" called on all the Ukraine's working people not to "submit to the will of the putschists." According to a statement at yesterday's Kiev news conference by V. Chornovil, chairman of Lvov Oblast Soviet, Galicia sent a telegram to B. Yeltsin expressing its complete support for the Russian leadership's actions.

Georgia

President on Pressure From Center During Crisis

OW2308162891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing the people over republican TV on Friday, the Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia said that "in the days of crisis" Georgia was subjected to strong pressure by the center. According to him, Deputy Defence Minister General Zhuravlev came to Tbilisi and demanded in the form of an ultimatum that Georgia's leadership comply with the orders of the SEC [State of Emergency Committee]. The military blocked airports and railway stations. "In those hard days we didn't appeal to the people for aid", said Gamsakhurdia. "To avoid excesses we concealed the true state of affairs. We did not evaluate the situation since it wasn't clear to us what was happening in Moscow".

State Security Committee Chairman Dismissed

AU2308150891 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1345 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] By the decree of president of the Republic of Georgia, Otar Georgiyevich Khatiashvili has been released from the post of chairman of the State Security Committee.

New Acting Chairman

AU2308155091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1345 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Decree by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia; issued in Tbilisi on 23 August]

[Text] To nominate Tamaz Vaktangovich Nimov as acting chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] Tbilisi, 23 August 1991

President Removes National Guard Commander

AU2408152791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 24 Aug 91

["Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Release of Tengiz Kitovani from his Post as Commander of the Internal Troops—the National Guard"]

[Text] To release Tengiz Kitovani from the post of commander of the Internal Troops—the National Guard and to abolish this post.

To entrust the deputy minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia with supervision of the guard.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] Tbilisi, 23 August 1991.

Guard 'No Longer' Under Government

PM2508135591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

[S. Chernykh report: "Movement of Troops"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Armed detachments of the National Guard, numbering 15,000 men, have moved outside Tbilisi's boundary and taken up station in the small town of Rkoni. National Guard Commander Kitovani, former chairman of the Defense Council, declared that he is no longer subordinate to the Georgian president. Kitovani was relieved of duty 19 August, although the relevant documents have been backdated to 17 August.

A leaflet distributed by the guard says that Georgia's government offered no resistance to the plotters and is, moreover, disarming the troops formed to uphold its independence. Thus, the 5,000 fighters of the "Mkhedrioni" Detachment have been augmented by another 15,000 well-armed men who are no longer under the republic government's control.

President Denies Guard Disbanded

AU2408144891 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Declaration by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the president of the Republic of Georgia]

[Text] Recently, a proclamation on behalf of the National Guard has been circulated in Tbilisi. This aims to discredit the president of the Republic and the authorities. In particular, the authors of the proclamation maintain that the authorities have apparently disbanded the guard, which is gross slander and provocation.

The guard has not been disbanded. It has acquired a new status, that of a subunit of the special purpose militia. As a result of the critical situation that developed, it was necessary to protect the guard against an attack by the Soviet imperial forces, which they had undoubtedly been threatening to do recently.

In addition, such a reorganization of the guard had been planned much earlier. Nothing is mentioned in the decree about disbanding and abolishing the guard, only that the guard needs a professional military general as its leader, otherwise it will not be able to fulfill its important responsibilities. It will have order and discipline, which will enable it to be transformed into a [word indistinct] force for society.

Insofar as the guard is subordinate to the president, I call upon true guardsmen to move into the Ministry of Internal Affairs as representatives of the internal troops,

to be authorized to receive firearms, to obey the leadership, and to serve the interests of the Republic and not the unjustified ambitions of separate individuals.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] Tbilisi, 23 August 1991.

Guard Defies Gamsakhurdia

OW2408165691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian National Guard, a 15,000-strong military formation accountable to the Georgian president, left its barracks in Tbilisi and took up a position in the Georgian capital's suburb, said a source in Georgia.

According to the guard, says IF [INTERFAX], the move had been motivated by the decision of the Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia "to disband the guards out of fear of the coup leaders." The guards' proclamations are being disseminated though Tbilisi.

The republican press published Saturday a statement of the Georgian president that says that the presidential decree issued earlier this week did not envisage disbanding or scrapping the guard.

The National Guard, emphasizes the statement, received the status of a special police unit and its objective was to defend the republic from attack by "Soviet imperil troops." The reorganisation of the National Guard had been decided on before the coup, says the statement.

Supreme Council Extraordinary Meeting on 26 Aug

AU2308140291 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the first session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council of the first convocation will be held on 26 August 1991 at 1000 in the conference hall of the Supreme Council. The registration of deputies of the Supreme Council will begin at 0830.

Armenia

Communist Party Statement on 18-21 Aug Events

LD2408084691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1152 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Aug (TASS)—The bureau of Armenia's Communist Party Central Committee has issued a statement in connection with the 18-21 August events in the country. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, says the document, reaffirms loyalty to its program aims for the democratization of society; for strengthening law and order and legality; for defending human rights and freedoms; for improving interethnic relations; and for a just solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Central Committee of Armenia's Communist Party has stated that the starting point position in the work of the party was, and remains, the national interests of the Armenian people and ensuring their security, a guarantee of which is the stabilization of social and political life.

The Armenian pan-national movement noted in its statement that this organization will, by all lawful means, protect the political gains of the Armenian people made in recent years, and continue to consistently act for the good of an Armenian independent state and in defense of the right of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh to free self-determination.

The "Ramkavar-Azatakan" liberal-democratic party of Armenia, expressing its attitude to the events of 18-21 August in the country, talked of the impermissibility of any actions that conflict with the Constitution.

The "National self-determination" Association (NSA) sharply condemned "attempts to revive totalitarianism in the USSR."

The Armenian Christian-Democratic Union called the events "a blatantly reactionary coup, and an attempt to crush the scarcely established democracy in the country."

Communist Party Chief Holds News Conference

LD2408144391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1836 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Aug (TASS)—The events that have taken place in the USSR bear witness to the fact that the country is going through a period when displays of extreme behavior both from the right and from the left are possible, stated Aram Sargsyan, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Speaking at a news conference in Yerevan today, he evaluated the events of the last few days as having been a coup, and as having been one more attempt to return to the old order. Aram Sargsyan confirmed the republican Communist Party's commitment to the course leading to democratization and to the principles of democracy both in the country and also in the republic. In light of this, he noted, the communists of Armenia are in favor of carrying out reforms exclusively by legal and constitutional means.

In the words of A. Sargsyan, during the coup the Communist Party expressed its agreement with the stance of the Armenian leadership calling for restraint and the preservation of a stable situation in the republic. The political position of the Armenian Communist Party remains as before, and during these difficult days, it

confirmed its view that it should be an independent political organization expressing the ethnic interests of the people.

Also today the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet examined the issue of the status of the republic's Communist Party. As the parliamentary press center reports, various points of view were expressed even going so far as proposing that the Armenian Communist Party be banned and that its activities be suspended for a certain time.

The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet formed a commissio: of deputies "to check the legality of the registration of the Armenian Communist Party and to ascertain its links with the CPSU," and it has been instructed to present the results of its work within a week.

The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has also instructed the republic's Council of Ministers to examine and put forward proposals on clarifying the status of the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB, making them subordinate to republican rather than Union control.

Party Held to Principles

NC2308164891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Report by Lida Gazaryan—recorded]

[Text] [Gazaryan] Aram Sargsyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, held a news conference this morning at which he reaffirmed the party's allegiance to its principles:

[Sargsyan] It should be clear to you that during the recent events, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee did not retreat from or abandon its principled positions and made no attempt to support any move to destabilize the situation in the republic.

It is our conviction that the country, and particularly our republic, should continue the efforts to entrench democracy and parliamentary rule, efforts in which the Armenian Communist Party has its own particular role and importance. The Armenian Communist Party has already established its independence; as you know it has been registered as an independent party in Armenia. It has no intention of abandoning the principles outlined in its program and constitution.

On the day we first heard about this coup, we were invited by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet for a consultative meeting. We took part in that consultation and we accepted the declaration issued by that meeting. We supported the Supreme Soviet chairman's call for self-restraint and the maintenance of the stability.

On 20 August, when the news from Moscow was still fragmentary, the Central Committee's Secretariat and then its Political Bureau clarified their position, which was published in the form of a declaration in HAYASTAN yesterday. This declaration was adopted at the Central Committee Political Bureau session at 1100 on 20 August, when the situation was still unclear. This declaration was drafted on the evening of 19 August. We saw no reason why we should not clarify our position.

We view what happened as an outright coup d'etat, as yet another attempt to take the country back to the old days of cruel regimes. We believe that we can achieve all the reforms we have presented to the public in our program only through a legal and constitutional course.

[Gazaryan] Aram Sargsyan went on to answer questions. Asked by a reporter whether the recent events had changed the party's view on the Union treaty, he replied:

[Sargsyan] If you follow our public statements, then you know that the Armenian Communist Party believes that Armenia should sign the Union treaty, but only if the Union treaty serves Armenia's interests. Our principled stance is that Armenia should take part in the (?formulation) of the treaty so as to defend the interests of our nation. In our view, Armenia should be a part of that Union in which Russia is found. We believe that Armenia can exist as a sovereign state only if it has its own friends in both the political and economic spheres.

[Gazaryan] Asked to comment on reports that some (?groups) have defended the so-called state-of-emergency committee, he replied:

[Sargsyan] First of all, there is no evidence of this. There are no facts—if you can call them facts—about this. Such an organization does not exist and it has made no decisions or declarations. If there are people who did indeed express such views and could have been potential supporters for this type of action, then the party will pass judgment on them.

[Gazaryan] Mr. Sargsyan said the following about the Armenian Communist Party's contacts with the CPSU Central Committee during the events:

[Sargsyan] We tried to establish, and did establish, contacts with the CPSU Central Committee, but not with its higher echelons as they were in constant session. Our main objective was to get information about what really was happening in Moscow and in the rest of the country. Let me add that when we did get any information, we always shared it with the republic's leadership.

[Gazaryan] Asked to comment on the view that the entire coup was underpinned by communist ideology, he said:

[Sargsyan] I think that what happened during these three days is a bitter lesson for us, for the party; it is a bitter experience from which fundamental lessons must be learned. If a party cannot do this, it will not survive long. I believe that we have the courage and ability to draw the necessary conclusions, so that Armenia's Communist Party in particular serves only the interests of its own people.

[Gazaryan] The declaration issued by the party's central committee will be published in the other republican newspapers in the coming days.

'Disregarded' CPSU Orders

OW2308181891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1652 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Aram Sargsyan described the aborted coup as "an attempt to reverse the country's progress and return to a bleak past," at a press conference on Wednesday.

Sargsyan acknowledged that during the coup days the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party had received instructions from the CPSU Central Committee which, according to Sargsyan, the Armenian communists "disregarded."

Sargsyan emphasized that the crisis " provided yet another confirmation that the Armenian Communist Party should strive for increasing autonomy and only act in the best interests of the people."

Asked about his attitude toward Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Sargsyan said that "his biggest mistake was in pursuing reforms half-heartedly and in his unsure policy as to the selection of aides." "As a politician," said Sargsyan, "Gorbachev must revise his views and working principles. Unless he does this revision, he has no future at all," said Sargsyan.

Dealing with his attitude toward the Union treaty, Sargsyan said that "Armenia must be in the same Union with Russia."

Legislature Discusses Status of Communist Party

NC2508095791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium met on 23 August chaired by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

The meeting discussed the Armenian publications of the CPSU Central Committee. Acting on the basis of the Armenian Supreme Soviet decision on nationalizing the property of the Communist Party, the Presidium decided to consider the Armenian publications of the CPSU Central Committee as the property of the Armenian republic and hand over its management to the Armenian Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers was instructed to urgently examine and resolve the use and management of the said publications as a separate unit.

The Presidium next assessed the participation of the CPSU Central Committee in the failed coup, and began to examine the status of the Armenian Communist Party. A debate developed on this issue. Various views were put forward, ranging from outlawing the party, to temporarily closing it, to instructing the Armenian procuracy to examine the legality of its registration as a political and public party and its future activities.

It was noted that the Armenian Communist Party, in violation of Armenian laws on public and political organizations and contrary to its numerous assurances, in fact continues to remain an integral part of the CPSU structurally, administratively and financially. This is a major compromising factor requiring quick, sharp measures. It was noted that this issue is a state-administrative matter and requires an appropriate response.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium summed up the results of the examination and the disparate proposals, and decided to set up a deputies group to study the legality of the registration of the Armenian Communist Party as a political party and its links with the CPSU. The deputies' group was instructed to brief the Supreme Soviet Presidium about the results of their study in a week.

The Presidium also adopted decisions about the Armenian Interior Ministry and the Committee for State Security. The Armenian Council of Ministers was instructed to study and present proposals on the clarification of the status of the Armenian Interior Ministry and Committee for State Security and on the ensurance of their subjection to the republican authorities.

In line with the draft proposal put forward by the Armenian central electoral committee for the referendum, the Supreme Soviet Presidium also decided on the emblem to be used to represent the 21 September referendum. The decision provides that the use of the emblem for the 21 September 1991 Armenian Republic referendum will be decided upon by the Armenian central electoral committee on the referendum.

Other matters pertaining to the social and political life of the republic also were examined.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1730 GMT on 24 August reports that the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium met the evening of 24 August and examined a report submitted by the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party on the party's position on issues raised during the Supreme Soviet Presidium's 23 August meeting. The radio adds:

["Summing up the results of the meeting, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that, considering the mass reaction against the Communist Party in the entire country and specifically in our country, the majority of Communists in Armenia would more resolutely (?carry out) the party's [words indistinct] self-cleansing and self-dissolution, and its transformation into a new party on another ideological and organizational foundation.

["Ter-Petrosyan stressed that opportunities must be given to participants in the Armenian Communist Party

Central Committee Plenum opening today to orient themselves with the existing political condition. He proposed that the Presidium not discuss the proposal dealing with certain restrictions on activities by Communist Party organs.

["The Presidium endorsed Ter-Petrosyan's proposal. It instructed the Council of Ministers, however, to examine the issue of transferring the former city party committee building vacated by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to the republican Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations."]

CPSU Publishing House Nationalized

LD2308233891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Aug [TASS]—The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet adopted a decision today to nationalize the Armenian publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee. Taking account of the decision of the republic's parliament on nationalizing the property of the Communist Party, which was adopted in April, it has been decided to regard the publishing house as the republic's property and to put it at the disposal of the Armenian Council of Ministers. The republic's government has been instructed "to immediately consider and resolve matters connected with the special purpose use" of this publishing house and its departmental subordination as an independent unit, the press center of the Armenian Supreme Soviet announced.

The Armenian publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee is the republic's only printing enterprise specializing in the production of newspapers and magazines. It was established in 1968 as the publishing house of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee as part of the system of party publishing houses of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs Department. Until recently, it printed practically all the republican newspapers—45 titles and 16 magazines with a single print run of 3,500,000 copies—as well as part of the print run of five central newspapers.

Party Ordered To Vacate Premises

LD2508185591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1227 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 25 Aug (TASS)—The Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party must vacate the building which it occupies and which is being transferred to the republic's Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations. This decision was adopted at Saturday's session of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

In his address, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, expressed the hope that "given the mass discontent with the party both in the country and in the republic communists of Armenia will resolve positively the question of whether or not to purge their own ranks or even disband and will then create a new organization based on different principles". Stressing that communists must be given the opportunity to find their bearings in the current political situation, he proposed removing discussion of the draft document on restricting the activity of the Communist Party and its press organs from the agenda.

Aram Sargsyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, explained the position of the Armenian Communist Party during the recent events in the country and the question of its finances. According to him the Armenian Communist Party bases its activities exclusively on national interests. He announced that communists are considering renaming the party, breaking its ties with the CPSU, and stopping its representatives from being members of leading bodies of the CPSU.

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party on the same day discussed the situation as regards the party and confirmed the independent political course of the Armenian Communist Party as well as its adherence to national interests and the principles of democracy.

Expressing the will of communists of Armenia the plenum condemned the position of the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee during the coup and expressed confidence that the role of certain leading figures in the CPSU in organizing and carrying it out will be examined and made public. The plenum deemed any further involvement by Armenian Communist Party representatives in leading bodies of the CPSU to be impossible.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Sends Congraulations to Yeltsin

NC2608065591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov has sent a telegram to President Boris Yeltsin. The telegram said:

Esteemed Boris N. Yeltsin, on this jubilant day when democracy has been restored, I, on behalf of the people of Azerbaijan, wish to inform you that I admire the bravery and high political maturity of the people's representatives of Russia. Through their determined and resolute stand during the dramatic and tragic days, when the fate of democracy, the people, and the country was decided, our colleagues, that is, the deputies of the Russian parliament, succeeded in changing the course of the developments, halting the machinery of massacre, which was activated by treacherous hands, and obstructing the approaching disaster. The multinational people of Azerbaijan are unreservedly adhering to the principles of the USSR Constitution. It is strongly believed that all the problems that have accumulated in

the Soviet community henceforth will be resolved through serious adherence to the laws and respect for the rights of the peoples, including individuals' rights. I wish happiness and progress to the Soviet peoples.

Mutalibov Orders Party-State Separation

LD2508013191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] A decree of Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijani Republic, on the withdrawal of mass public organizations and political parties from the structures of the Supreme Court, Procuracy, KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Justice of the republic was published today.

Official Says Situation in Baku Calm, Stable

PM2308143591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

["Own information" report: "No Coup in Baku..."]

[Text] After the "Vesti" report of trouble in Baku, we telephoned the Azerbaijan political mission in Moscow.

"Everything is calm in Baku, the situation is stable," political representative Zaur Rustamzade said. "None of the newspapers publishing in Azerbaijan, including opposition newspapers, have been closed down. Azerbaijan President Mutalibov sent a congratulatory cable to RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Yeltsin today, in which he expressed his admiration for the courage and supreme political maturity of Russia's elected people's representatives. In the evening a group of Azerbaijan parliamentary deputies are flying in to attend the funerals of the coup victims."

Our sources in Baku reported that the Azerbaijan People's Front urged the people of Baku to attend a rally today. The "Vesti" report that right-wingers had seized the television station has not been confirmed: It has been in their hands since January 1990 when a state of emergency was declared after troops invaded Baku. A state of emergency that has, incidentally, still not been lifted.

No SCSE Instructions Implemented

LD2408222591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Baku newspapers published a statement by AZERINFORM. It says: The country has escaped a coup d'etat with its totalitarian consequences. The democratic potential of perestroyka has triumphed and a spirit of freedom has won. However, as has happened more than once in recent years, in a peak situation of critical days in Azerbaijan and its leadership became the objects of attack. Some separatist circles conceived a design by provocative intrigues of clashing Azerbaijan with the center and with other republics. This was stated by the state news agency of Azerbaijan. It would not be out of place to remind you, it writes, that not a single instruction of the self-styled State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] was implemented, all opposition media continued working, and all sociopolitical movements and organizations operated. This statement by the Azerbaijan news agency was distributed by TASS.

Popular Front Rally Comes Under OMON Attack

PM2408112191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 p 1

["Own information" report: "Baku Commissars: Was This Their Last Stand?.."]

[Text] The newspaper AZADLYG, organ of the People's Front of Azerbaijan [PFA], was suspended 23 August. The military censors would not allow it to be published. The issue in question was planning to carry the appeal from Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, who welcomed the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

A rally called by the opposition in support of democracy began at 1700 Baku time outside the PFA building. After about 10 minutes those present were attacked by the militia and the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON].

We were telephoned from PFA Headquarters by Elchin Guliyev, correspondent with AZADLYG ("Freedom"), who effectively filed an on-the-spot report:

"They attacked us from all sides. Women, children, and old men attending the rally are now being killed. Opposition deputies from the republic's Supreme Soviet are being beaten with nightsticks before my very eyes. A correspondent from Russian TV's 'Vesti' program has been attacked. Journalists' camcorders and cameras are being confiscated and smashed. The attackers broke through to the entrance to the PFA building. They beat Alesker Bek, chief of the PFA General Department. I saw him go down. All this reminds me of when troops were sent into Baku in January 1990—such brutality! Tell everyone about it! They're already in the building. They're in the room. I'm being beaten up! Good-bye..."

We were cut off. Ten minutes later all lines out of PFA headquarters were cut.

The beatings continued. Brutal beatings were handed out to PFA Chairman Abulfaz Elchibek, to Sabir Rustamkhanly, Azerbaijani people's deputy and editor of the major newspaper AZERBAIJAN, and to hundreds of others. Opposition deputies Isa Gambarov; Nadzhaf Nadzhafov, chief of the PFA Organizational Department; Iskender Gamidov, AZADLYG editor; and Khidzhran Kerimli, together with AZADLYG staffers Elchin Guliyev and Khalig Gadzhiyev, have been arrested or abducted.

Front Leaders Wounded in Clash

NC2608093791 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 24 Aug 91 p 14

[Report by Rehber Besiroglu: "An Incident in Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Baku—The troops of the Azerbaijan Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs have forcibly entered the central headquarters of the Azerbaijan People's Front in Baku and mistreated the front's leaders. The incident occurred during the rally the People's Front organized to mark the failed coup in Moscow. Abulfaz Elchibek (Aliyev) was wounded in the head during the incident. The troops arrested Nadzhaf Nadzhafov and Sabir Rustam-khanly, who are members of the Front's Executive Committee.

Meanwhile, Stefan Topal, leader of the Gagauz Turks in the Soviet Union, has been arrested by the Moldova government.

Incidents in Baku

According to Abbas Abdullayev, member of the Azerbaijan People's Front Assembly, the speakers, who addressed the rally at 1700 local time, claimed that the failure of the coup against Gorbachev removed the threat of an oppressive regime being established in Azerbaijan. In a disclosure in Iran on the first day of the coup in Moscow, President Mutalibov of Azerbaijan said that he welcomed the ousting of President Gorbachev. Later, however, he tried to deny his disclosure.

People's Front Building Stormed

LD2508032991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] In Baku yesterday at 1700, a rally by the People's Front of Azerbaijan [PFA] began in Sovetskaya Street devoted to the victory of democratic forces in the country and to the memory of those who died defending the Russian White House. At first those attending, more than 500 in number along with the militia, listened to the speeches by the PFA, and everything proceeded normally.

Literally within 15 minutes unknown persons in civilian clothes provoked a fight, after which the militia became involved in the events. The tragedy ended with the building of the People's Front being stormed. As a result, nine were injured, and more than 50 people detained, among whom were four deputies of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. They were only freed on the night of 24 August.

Today the republican procuracy is assessing the material damage and carrying out medical examinations of those who suffered. [passage omitted] [video shows rally and disturbances]

'At Least 50' Injured

OW2308201091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from Baku, at least 50 persons were injured (including ten whose injuries were grave) when a meeting was dispersed that had been orgnized in Azerbaijan's capital on Friday by the republic's Popular Front following the failure of the coup d'etat in the USSR. IF [INTERFAX] learned that from Popular Front activists.

According to eyewitness reports, some 200 members of Gardashlyk (Brotherhood), allegedly a reactionary organization, joined the crowd in the course of a rally attended by thousands at the headquarters of the Popular Front. According to the Popular Front, Gardashlyk enjoys the support of Azerbaijan's authorities. The newcomers demanded that the meeting be stopped.

"The attackers had help from the police who had arrived to protect law and order," say eye-witnesses. The building of the Front's headquarters was gutted, and the equipment was seized. An issue of the weekly AZADLYG (Freedom), the Front's publication, was arrested [as received].

The weekly carried the text of an appeal by the Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov who had supported the Emergency Committee on republican TV on August 21. However, the official press did not publish the appeal.

Around 50 people were detained, including several opposition parliamentarians, during the meeting that demanded the resignation of President Mutalibov.

OMON Disperses Demonstrators

PM2508174691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Yusin report: "Hundreds of Arrests in Baku"]

[Text] Information reaching the editorial office gives rise to fears that a "mini-putsch" according to the Yanayev scenario is taking place in Azerbaijan, accompanied by arrests, beating up of demonstrators, and the closure of opposition publications.

Baku journalists contacted by telephone by an AFP correspondent reported that 23 August the Azerbaijan People's Front organized a demonstration in support of democracy. About 7,000 people gathered in the city center, protesting against the policy of the republic's President Mutalibov, who is accused of supporting the putsch. Some 3,000 OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] men went in against the demonstrators, dispersed them, and made hundreds of arrests.

The People's Front headquarters was seized and destroyed by the OMON.

"The communist leadership took advantage of the imposition of a state of emergency in Azerbaijan 12 January 1990 to establish in the republic the model that was proposed by the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]," the latest communique of the People's Front says.

Front Warns of Bloodshed

OW2308163691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tensions sharply heightened this morning in the capital of Azerbaijian. At about 14:30 an explosion took place at a subway station in Baku, the headquarters of Azerbaijan's Popular Front told IF [INTERFAX]. Leading member of the Front Sabit Bagirov said that at noon some 200 persons invaded the Front's headquarters and demanded in the form of an ultimatum that the mass meeting scheduled for 15:00 Moscow Time to call for the resignation of President Ayaz Mutalibov who supported decisions taken by the SEC [State of Emergency Committee] be cancelled. These people, said S. Bagirov, "belonged to armed units formed by A. Mutalibov and by the mayor of Baku Agayev following the attempt to stage a coup in Moscow". "We are asking for any kind of aid. Bloodshed might take place in two hours' time", said S. Bagirov. The Front's leaders requested the Baku police to ensure security during the meeting. In the meantime members of the Popular Front's weekly "AZADLYG" appealed to the Soviet and world public to pay attention to the "suppression of democratic freedoms in Azerbaijan". Their appeal was prompted by the ban on today's issue of the weekly which presents Ayaz Mutalibov's statement in support of the SEC.

24 Aug Rally Held

OW2408164691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a staffer of the information centre of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Azerbaijan Arif Yunusov, the National Front staged another rally at the headquarters of the Front in Baku. Its participants denounced the pogrom staged by the police in the building of the Front's headquarters on the previous day. They also criticized the authorities that had cracked down on the Friday rally.

As on Friday, the Saturday rally demanded that emergency rule be lifted in Azerbaijan, a new election law be passed and new elections be held.

According to Yunusov, 600 to 700 police and OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] servicemen were present at the Friday meeting of the Front. The police, says Yunusov, provoked a scuffle and beat up the demonstrators and gutted the headquarters.

The police detained 58 people for 3 to 4 hours, including several Azeri parliamentarians.

On Friday the opposition staged rallies in Nakhichevan and Sumgait, says Yunusov.

Mutalibov Asks for Military Aid

LD2508173191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Text] Here is a report from Baku which we have received through the channels of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. A rally in support of the democratic processes in the country in favor of the democratization of the social structure in the republic is taking place in that city today. This is reported by (Ibragimov), head of the news department of the Azerbaijan Popular Front. This organization will demand at the rally the revocation of the state of emergency in Baku, the departyization and the nationalization of the property of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the convocation of an emergency session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, and the cessation of the campaign for the election of a president of Azerbaijan.

On 24 August Asadov, Azerbaijan minister of internal affairs, warned that emergency measures would be taken against those at the rally. There is a danger that special unit militia detachments might cross into Baku from the border to disperse the rally. According to unofficial data, up to 1,000 individuals in civilian dress are attempting to infiltrate the rally to provoke disorders. According to reports which the Popular Front has at its disposal, President Mutalibov has asked Patrikeyev, one of the leaders of the Transcaucasian Military District, that he set aside military hardware and soldiers. At the moment a number of trucks with soldiers are situated near the building of the Republic's Supreme Soviet.